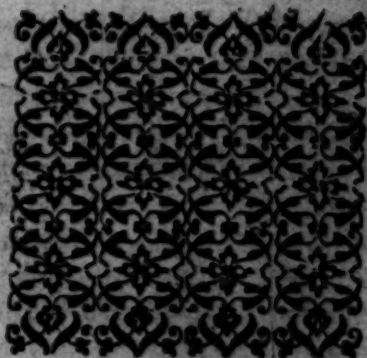


Witchcraft

A
DISCOVRSE
OF THE DAMNED
ART OF WITCHCRAFT; SO
farre forth as it is reuealed in the Scriptures,
and manifest by true experience.

FRAMED AND DELIVERED BY
M. WILLIAM PERKINS, IN HIS ORDINARIE
course of Preaching, and published by THOMAS PICKERING
*Batchelour of Divinitie, and Minister of Pinching-
field in Essex.*



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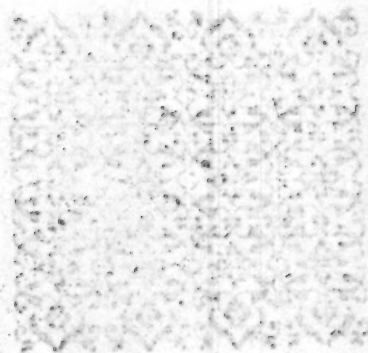
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course of teaching and publishing by Thomas Perkins

Proprietor of the New England of Teaching

Sold in Essex



Printed by CANTRELL, LEGER, Printers to the
University of Cambridge. 1800.

TO THE RIGHT
HONORABLE SIR EDWARD COKE
Knight, Lord chiefe Iustice of his Maiesties
Court of Common Pleas;
Grace and Peace.

Right Honourable: The word of God that onely Oracle of truth, hath pointed out the Enemy of mankind, by his proper Characters, in sundrie places. Our Saviour tearmes him, the *Prince of this world*; and a *Murderer from the beginning*. Peter compares him to a *roaring Lyon*, that rangeth abroad in the earth, seeking whome he may deuoure. His attempts in regard of their qualitie, are called *subtile* and deepe deuises; yea *plots* exquisitely contriued, and orderly framed, as it were in Methode. The meaning of the holy Ghost in these and such like attributes, is, to expresse that measure of policie and power, which Satan hath reserved vnto himselfe euen in the state of his Apostasie, improoued by long experience, and instantly practised vpon the sonnes of men, that he might set vp in the world, a spirituall regiment of sinne; as a meane to encounter the kingdome of grace; and, if it were possible, to bring the same to ruine. To forbear instances of open force made against God and his Church by other courses, for the compassing of his desires; how skillfully he workes his owne aduantage, by secret opposition, in the exercise of that cursed Art, which is the Subject of the present Discourse, is a point not vnworthie your Honorable consideration.

The Power of this Prince of darknesse, being about the might of all sensible Creatures, and euery way seconded by the greatnesse of his knowledge and experience, manifesteth it selfe herein, for the most part, by workes of wonder, transcendent in regard of ordinarie capacitie, and diuersly dispensed by his chosen instruments of both sexes, sometime in matter of Diuination, sometime by Incubament, sometime by rare sleights and delusions; otherwhiles by hurting, by curing, by raising of Tempests, by speedie conueyance and transportation from place to place, &c. and all to purchase vnto himselfe admiration, feare, and faith, of the credulous world, which is visually carried away, with affectation and applause of signes and wonders. His Politie, appeareth in a wise and exquisite manner of framing and conceiuing both his practises and grounds; the one to procure credit and intertainment, the other that he may not faile of his purpose, but proceede vpon certainties.

Toucheing the manner of his practise. He stands resolved, that the world hath taken notice of him to be a *tyr*, and the father thereof: and therefore if he should offer to speake in his owne language, or informe an Art by Rules of his owne deuising; he might haply incur suspicion of fallhood. Hereupon he composeth his courses *by way of counterfeit and imitation*, not of the actions and dealings of men, but of the order of Gods owne proceeding with his Church; holding it a sure principle in policie, That actions will be much more effectuell, when they be framed vnto the best presidents; then when they are suted to the direction of meaner examples. To this purpose, as God hath made a Couenant with his Church, binding himselfe by promise to be their God, and requiring of them the condition of faith and obedience; so doth Satan indent with his Subiects by mutuall confederacie, either so-

lemnly

a Ioh. 12. 31.
b Ioh. 8. 44.
c 1. Pet. 5. 8.
d 1. Cor. 2. 11.
e Eph. 6. 11.

f Ioh. 8. 44.

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

lemly or secretly: whereby they bind themselves on the one part to observe his Rules, and he on the other to accomplish their desires. Again, God gives his Word, the Interpreter of his will, and his Sacraments, the seals of his promises, to which being rightly administered and received, he hath tied his owne presence, and the worke of his grace in them that beleue. Answerably to this, the Deuill gives a word of direction to his Instruments, and addeth vnto it, Charms, Figures, Characters, and other outward Ceremonies, at the vse whereof he hath bound himselfe to be present, and to manifest his power in effecting the thing desired. Furthermore, God hath reuealed his will to the Patriarchs, Prophets, and Apostles, by familiar conference, by dreames, by inspiration, by Trances: In the same manner, Satan hath his Diuiners, and Soothsayers, his Pythonisses, his Calfandraes, his Sibylles, to whom he maketh knowne things to come, by familiar presence, by dreames, &c. To conclude, God had in the Olde Testament his Temple at Ierusalem, yea his Oracle, from whence he spake, and gaue the answer vnto Moses: So of auncient times, the Deuill erected his Temple at Dodona, and Delphos, whence he gaue his answers, for the satisfaction of the superstitious Heathen. Yea and at this day, as the Ministers of God doe give resolution to the conscience, in matters doubtfull and difficult, so the Ministers of Satan, vnder the name of Wisemen, and Wise women, are at hand by his appointments, to resolve, direct, and helpe ignorant and vnsettled persons, in cases of distraction, lesse, or other outward calamities.

Now the Grounds whereupon he buildeth his proceedings for certaine are cunningly gathered from the disposition of mans heart, by naturall corruption, and that in three speciall instances. First, he knowes that Man naturally out of the light of grace, hath but a *mere soule*, indued onely with some generall and confused notions, and as for matters of deeper apprehension touching God and heavenly things, there is a vaile of ignorance and blindness drawne ouer the eyes of his minde. Whereupon, though he be apt to knowe and worship a God, and leaue his will yet for want of information by the word, he is prone to erre in the practise of his notion. Here Satan applyes himselfe to mans measure, and at his owne will, drawes the minde into error, by his delusions and impostures. This made the Samaritane in the Olde Testament, and the superstitious Athenians in the Newe, to worship an *unknowne God*, that is, the Deuill. Hence it was, that the greatest Clarks of Greece, Thales, Plato, and the rest, for want of a better light, sought vnto the Wizards of Egypt, whom they called Prophets, men instructed by Satan in the grounds of Divination. And of this sort were Iannes and Iambres mentioned in the Scriptures. Hence it was also that the auncient Heathen, hauing no true and Testimonie from God, inquired at Soothsayers and murmuring Inchanters: others betooke themselves, in matters of doubt and difficultie, to the olde Oracles of Iupiter Ammon in Libya, of Iupiter Dodonaeus at Dodona in Epirus, of Apollo at Delphos, of Iupiter Trophonius in Boetia, and the rest, where the Deuill gaue the answer, sometimes one way, and sometimes another.

Secondly, Satan by observation perceiueth that man vpon a weak and ignorant mind, is prone superstitiously to dote vpon the creatures, attributing some diuine operation or vertue to them, without any ground of Gods word, or common understanding, and consequently disposed to worshipping God in some worke of man, or to ioyne to the same worship the inuentions of man, which he hath not commanded. Vpon which ground he made the Heathen to dote vpon their wisemen, to regard Soothsayers, and them that wrought with Spirits. The Chaldean Philosophers renowned for their superstitious and Magicall courses, to make the Heaueus, *fatium, Logum, Tabulam*, ascribing that to the vertue of the Stars, which was knowen and done by Satanicall operations. The Magicians of Persia, to admit of corruptions in their auncient good learning, and to giue themselves vpon the reading of the fabulous writings of the Chaldean Sorcerers, to the studie of vnlawfull Arts inuented by himselfe, both before and after the times of Daniel the Prophet: Lastly the ancient Romanes vpon a superstitious dotage, neuer to vndertake any businesse of waight, *nisi auspicio*, vnlesse they had luckie consent and warrant

from

a Gen. 18. 17.
b Num. 12. 6.
c Amos 3. 7.
d Act. 10. 10.

e Exod. 25.
22.
Numb. 7. 39.
* Herodot.
Euterpe.

f 1. Cor. 2. 14.

g 1. Cor. 10. 20.

h 1. Cor. 10. 20.

i 1. Cor. 10. 20.

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from the Colledges of their Augurors erected by *Romulus*. Thirdly, there is a naturall Distemper in the minde of man, shewing it selfe in these particulars, That he cannot indure to stand in feare of imminent danger; That he swells in an high conceit of his owne deserts, especially when he is in lower estate, then he would bee; That he will not beare a wrong done, without reuenge; That hee rests not satisfied, with the measure of knowledge receiued, but affecteth the searching of things secret, and not reuealed. When the minde is possessed with these troubled passions, with care to helpe it selfe; then comes the Deuill, and ministreth occasion to vse vnlawfull meanes in the generall, and forceth the minde by continuall suggestion, to determine it selfe in particular vpon his owne crafts. It was the case of *Saul*, and of *Nebuchadnezzar*. It caused many of the Heathen Philosophers, to goe from Athens to Memphis, from Grecia to Syria, from men on earth to wicked Spirits in hell, to get more illumination at the hands of the Prince of darkenesse. It moued sundrie mal-contented Priests of Rome, to aspire vnto the chaire of Supremacie, by Diabolically assistance; yea to exercise Magicall arts, when they were Popes; and thereby to manifest indeed, that they were not the true Successors of Simon Peter, but heyres of the vertues of Simon that *Magus*, who bewitched the People of Samaria, and professed to doe that by the great power God, which hee wrought by the ayde and assistance of the Deuill.

If any doe thinke it strange, that Satan should in this sort oppose himselfe to the kingdome of God, and maintaine his owne principallitie, by such vngodly arts and exercises; They must know, that this and all other euills come to passe euen by the will of God, who hath iustly permitted the same; To punish the wicked for their horrible sinnes; as *Saul* for his wickednesse; To auenge himselfe vpon Man for his ingratitude; who hauing the truth reuealed vnto him, will not beleue or obey it; To waken & rouze vp the godly, who are sleeping in any great sinnes or infirmities: Lastly, to trie and prooue his people, whether they will cleaue to him and his word, or seeke vnto Satan and wicked Spirits.

Now from the consideration of the premisses, we conclude it a necessarie thing for the Church and people of God, to be acquainted with the dealing of Satan in this kinde, that knowing his subtile deuises, they may learne to auoyd them. For which purpose this Treatise was first framed, and now exhibited to your Lordships. The iust commendation whereof, aboue others formerly diuulged touching this Argument, appeareth herein, that it serueth to the full opening and declaration, of Satans Methode in the grounde and practises of Witchcraft. Wherein among many other remarkable points, it may please you to take special notice of these particulars. I. That they doe grossely erre, who either in expresse termes denie that there be Witches, or in effect, and by consequent, auouching that there is no league betwene them and the Deuill, or affirming they can doe no such miraculous workes as are ascribed to them. The former issueth plainly out of the bodie of the Discourse. And for the latter; That there is a Couenant betwene them, either explicite in manner and forme, or implicite by degrees of superstitions proceeding in the vse of meanes insufficient in themselves; is plainly taught and confirmed in the same. That Witches may and doe worke wonders, is euidently prooued: howbeit not by an omnipotent power, (as the **gainfayer* hath vnlearnedly and improperly termed it) but by the assistance of Satan their Prince, who is a powerfull Spirit, but yet a Creature, as well as they. And the Wonders wrought by them, are not properly and simply *miracles*, but *workes of wonder*, because they exceede the ordinarie power and capacitie of men, especially such as are ignorant of Satans habilitie, and the hidden causes in nature, whereby things are brought to passe. II. That the Witch truly conuicted, is to be punished with death, the highest degree of punishment; and that by the Law of Moses, the equitie whereof is perpetuall. Yea euen the better Witch of the two in common reputation, because both are equally enemies to God, and true religion; and it is well knowne by true experience, that all professed Sockerers, are guiltie of many most monstrous impieties. III. That the Miracles of the Popish Church at this day, are indeed either no Miracles, or false and deceitfull workes.

Touching

1. Sam. 28.
1. Dan. 1. 1. 2.

a Platina
in Sylv. 2. &c.
Falsic. tem-
porum.
b Benno
Cardinal. de
Sylvest. 3. &
Gregor. 6.
Act. 3. 9.

August. En-
chirid. cap.
95. & 96.

1. Sam. 28.

2. Thess. 2.
10, 11, 12.

Deut. 13. 3.

* Reginald
Scot, epist.
ad Lectores.

Mira vel ui-
randa, non
Miracula.

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

Touching corporal presence in the Sacrament, which they affirme to be by miracle: If it were true, then miracles were not yet ceased, but should still be as ordinarie in the Church, as are the Sacraments. A point not onely confuted in the latter part of this Treatise, but also by the testimonie of purer Antiquitie. Augustine saith, *That miracles were once necessarie to make the world beleue the Gospel: but he that now seekes a signe that he may beleue, is a wonder, yea a monster in nature.* Chrysostome concludeth vpon the same grounds, that *there is now in the Church, no necessitie of working Miracles; and calles him a false Prophet, that now takes in hand to worke them.* Againe, if there be a miracle in the Sacrament, it is contrarie to the nature of all those that were wrought, either by Moses and the Prophets, or by Christ, and his Apostles. For they were apparant to the eye, but this is insensible: and therefore neither of force to mooue admiration, nor to conuince the minde of man, and make him to beleue. As for those, which are pretended to be wrought by Saints, in that Church; if we make recourse to the Primitiue times, wherein God gaue the gift, to breede faith in the Gentiles; we shall finde that the power of producing such works, was neuer actually inherent in the Apostles, but dispensed by them *in the name of Christ.* Neither was it in their libertie, to worke miracles, when they would, but when it pleased God, vpon speciall cause, to call them thereunto. And if neither the power nor the will was in them, much lesse is it likely to be found in any of the Saints. And for their Reliques, of what name soeuer, so greatly magnified and resorted vnto; we denie there is any such vertue in them. For they may not be thought to be more effectually then the hem of Christs garment, from which the power of healing the woman did not proceede, but *from himselfe.* Or, then the Napkin of Paul, which did not cure the sicke, but *the power of God onely*, dispensed by *the hands of Paul.* Miracles therefore, auouched by them, to be wrought at the Tombs and Statues of Saints, and by their reliques and Monuments, are but meere Saranicall wonders, seruing to maintaine Idolatry and Superstition: and are in truth, no better then the wonders of the Donatists in S. Augustines time, *aut signenta mendacium hominum, aut portenta fallacium spirituum.* IV. That the light of the Gospel purely preached, is a soueraigne meane, to discouer and confound the power and policie of Satan in Witch-craft and Sorcerie: The word of God preached, is the *weapon* of the Christians warfare, and *is mightie through God to cast downe strong holdes.* At the dispensation of it by the disciples of Christ, *Satan fell from heauen as lightening.* After the ascension of Christ into Heauen, in the times of Claudius Cesar *, the Deuill stirred vp sundry persons, who in regard of the admirable works which they did, by the helpe of Magick and Sorcerie, were accounted as Gods, and their Statues erected and worshipped with great reuerence. Amongst the rest one *Simon*, called by a kind of eminencie, *Magus*, practising his trade with successe, to the admiration of the multitude, was holden to be *the great power of God.* Whose dealing was first discovered by the light of the word, shining in the Ministerie of the Apostles, and himselfe conuicted with such euidence of truth, to be an Iustrument of Satan, that he was forced at length to flie out of Samaria into the Westerne parts, as *Ensebius* recordeth in his Ecclesiasticall Historie. By this, Christ the true Angell of the Couenant, locked and bound vp Satan for a 1000. yeares after his ascension, that he might not be so generally powerfull in seducing the Gentiles, as he had beene before his incarnation. But toward the expiration of those yeares, when corruption began to creepe into the Papacie: when the Bishops affected that Sea, and aspired vnto it by Diabolicall arts: when the Canons, Decrees, Sentences, Synodalls, Decretalls, Clementines, Extrauagants, with other Lawes and Constitutions, preuailed aboue the Scriptures; then began Satan againe to erect his kingdome, and these workes of iniquitie to be set abroach.

These points together with the whole worke ensuing, I humbly commend to your Honourable patronage, that vnder your protection they may freely passe to the common viewe of the world. Wherein if I seeme ouer-bold, thus to presse vpon your Lordship vnknowne; my answer is at hand; That all by-respects set a part, I haue beene hereunto induced many wayes. First, vpon a reuerent opinion of those rare gifts of knowledge and pietie, wherewith God hath beautified your person, and

there-

Lib. de civ.
Dei. 22. c. 8.

Homil. 19.
oper. im-
perfecta.

Ad. 3. 11.
16.

Luk. 8. 46.
Rom. 19. 11.
12.

Aug. lib. de
vinitat. eccl.
cap. 16.
1. Cor. 4. 4.

1. Cor. 10. 4.

Luk. 10. 18.
* Iust. Mart.
Apol. ad
Anton.

Ad. 8. 10.

Euseb. Eccl.
hist. lib. 7.
cap. 12.
Rev. 20. 2.

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

thereby aduanced you to high place, and estimation in this Common-wealth; Whereof those your graue and iudicious speeches, euen in the weightiest matters touching God and Cesar, as also those many learned Law-writings, haue giuen large testimonie. From which hath issued the greatnesse of your name, both in the present iudgement of the world, and in future expectation. Next, out of a resolute perswasion of your Honourable disposition, as in generall to the whole house of Leui, so particularly to those, whose labours haue fruitfully flowed out of the Schooles of the Prophets, amongst whom the Author of this booke, in his time, was none of the meanest.

Lastly, by the consideration of the Argument, arising out of a Law Iudiciall, agreeable to the calling and qualitie of a Iudge. A Law penall in regard of the offence; and therefore sutable to his proceedings, whose office is to heare with fauour, and to determine with equitie, to execute iustice with moderation. A law of the highest, and greatest waight, immediately concerning God and his Honour, and therefore appertaining to him, that *sits in the place of God*, to maintaine his right, *that he may be with him, in the cause and iudgement.*

Deut. 1. 16.
a. Chron. 19.
6.

By such Motiues, I haue encouraged my selfe, vnder assurance of your Lordships pardon, to present you with that, wherein you are most deseruedly interessed; further increating your fauourable interpretation and acceptance, both of the qualitie of the Worke, and of the paines of the Publisher. And thus heartely wishing to your Lordship increase of grace and honour, with a daily influence of blessing and direction from heauen, vpon your graue consultations and employments, I humbly take my leaue, and commend you to the grace of God, *by whom doe rule all the Iudges of the earth.* Finchingfield. Octob. 16. 1608.

Prov. 8. 16.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

Your L. in all Christian dutie

to be commanded;

T. H. PICKERING.

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Restorative. How whole countries may be
cured. 647. c. 1.

How particular persons may be

cured. 647. c. 2.

False and unlawfull Remedies prescribed by the
Church of Rome.

Generall: The gift of casting out of De-
mons. 648. c. 1.

That there is no such gift in the Church,
since the daies of the Apostles. 648. c. 1.

Particular fine.

The name Iesus. 649. c. 2.

The use of Saints Reliques. 650. c. 1.

The Signe of the Crosse. 650. c. 1.

Hallowing of Creatures. 650. c. 2.

Exorcismes. 650. c. 2.

IV. Whether the Witches of our times are to
be punished with death, and that by vertue of
this law of Moses? 650. c. 2.

Reasons proving that they ought.

650. c. 2. 651. c. 1.

Objections answered. 651. c. 2. &c.

5111

DISCOVERSE OF WITCHCRAFT.

Exod. 22. 18.

Thou shalt not suffer a Witch to live.



His Text containeth one of the Judiciall Lawes of *Moses* touching the punishment of Witchcraft: which argument I have chosen to in-treat of for these causes:

First, because Witchcraft is a rife and common sinne in these our dayes, and very many are intangled with it, being either practitioners thereof in their owne persons, or at least, yeelding to seeke for helpe and counsell of such as practise it.

Againe, there be sundry men who receive it for a truth, that Witchcraft is nothing else but a meere illusion, and Witches nothing but persons deluded by the Devill: and this opinion takes place not onely with the ignorant, but is holden and maintained by such as are learned, who doe avouch it by word and writing, that there be no Witches, but as I said before.

Upon these and such like considerations, I have bin moved to undertake the Interpretation of this Judiciall Law, as a sufficient ground of the doctrine which shall be delivered. In handling wherof, two things are distinctly to be considered: The first, what is a Witch. The second, what is her due and deserved punishment. And both these being opened and handled, the whole meaning of the Law will the better appeare.

For the first. To give the true description of a Witch, is a matter of great difficulty, because there bee many differences and diversities of opinions touching this point; and therefore that we may properly, and truly define a Witch, we must first pause a while in opening the nature of Witchcraft, so farre forth as it is delivered in the bookes of the Old and New Testament, and may be gathered out of the true experience of learned and godly men.

Touching Witchcraft therefore I will consider three points:

- I. What Witchcraft is.
- II. What is the ground of the whole practice thereof.
- III. How many kinds and differences there be of it.

CHAP. I.

Of the Nature of Witchcraft.

TO begin with the first: According to the true meaning of all the places of holy Scripture which treat of this point, it may be thus described:

Witchcraft is a wicked Art, serving for the working of wonders by the assistance of the devil, so far forth as God shall in justice permit.

Sect. 1.

I say it is an *Art*, because it is commonly so called and esteemed amongst men, and there is reason why it should be thus rearmend. For as in all good and lawfull Arts, the whole practise thereof is performed by certaine rules and precepts, and without them nothing can bee done: so Witchcraft hath certaine superstitious grounds and principles whereupon it standeth, and by which alone the feats and practices thereof are commonly performed.

If it be demanded what these rules bee, and whence they had their beginning, considering that every Art hath reference to some author, by whom it was originally taught and delivered? I answer, that they were devised first by Satan, and by him revealed to wicked and ungodly persons of ancient times, as occasion served: who receiving them from him, became afterward, in the just judgement of God, his instruments to report and convey them to others from hand to hand.

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For manifestation whereof, it is to be considered, that God is not onely in generall a Sovereigne Lord and King over all his creatures, whether in Heaven or Earth, none excepted, no not the devils themselves; but that hee exerciseth also a speciall Kingdome, partly of grace in the Church militant upon earth, and partly of glory over the Saints and Angels, members of the Church triumphant in Heaven. Now in like manner the Devill hath a Kingdome called in Scripture the kingdome of darknes, whereof himselfe is the head and governour, for which cause he is termed *the prince of darknesse, the God of this world*, ruling and effectually working in the hearts of the children of disobedience.

Againe, as God hath enacted Lawes, whereby his Kingdome is governed, so hath the Devill his ordinances, whereby he keepeth his subjects in awe and obedience, which generally and for substance are nothing else but transgressions of the very Law of God. And amongst them all, the precepts of Witchcraft are the very chiefe and most notorious. For by them especially hee holds up his kingdome, and therefore more esteemeth the obedience of them, than of other. Neither doth he deliver them indifferently to every man, but to his owne subjects, the wicked; and not to them all, but to some speciall and tried ones, whom hee most trusteth with his secrets, as being the fittest to serve his turne, both in respect of their willingness to learne and practise, as also for their ability to become instruments of the mischief which hee intendeth to others.

If it bee here asked, whence the Devill did fetch and conceive his rules? I answer, out of the corruption and depravation of that great measure of knowledge he once had of God, and of all the duties of his service. For that being quite depraved by his fall, hee turnes the same to the inventing and devising of what hee is possibly able against God and his honour. Hereupon, well perceiving that God hath expressly commanded to renounce and abhorre all practices of Witchcraft, he hath set abroad this art in the world, as a maine pillar of his Kingdome, which notwithstanding is flatly and directly opposed to one of the maine principall Lawes of the Kingdome of God, touching the service of himselfe in spirit and truth.

Againe, the reason why hee conveyes these ungodly principles and practices from man to man is, because hee findes in experience, that things are far more welcome and agreeable to the common nature of mankind, which are taught by man like unto themselves, than if the devill should personally deliver the same, to each man in speciall. Hereupon, hee takes the course at first to instruct some few onely, who being taught by him, are apt to convey that which they know to others. And hence in probability this devillish trade had his first originall and continuance.

Sect. II.

In the second place, I call it a *wicked art*, to distinguish it from all good and lawfull arts, taught in schooles of learning, which as they are warrantable by the Word of God, so are they no lesse profitable and necessarie in the Church. Againe, to shew the nature and qualitie of it, that it is a most ungracious and wicked art, as appeareth by the Scriptures. For when Saul had broken the expresse commandment of God, in sparing Agag, and the best things; Samuel tells him, that rebellion and disobedience is as the sinne of Witchcraft, that is, a most horrible and grievous crime, like unto that wicked, capital, and mother sin, 1 Sam. 15. 23.

Sect. III.

Thirdly, I adde, *sending to the working or producing of wonders*, wherein is noted the proper end of this art, whereby I put a further difference betwene it, and others that are godly and lawfull.

Now if question bee moved, why man should desire by Witchcraft to work wonders? I answer, the true and proper cause is this: The first temptation, whereby the Devill prevailed against our first parents, had inclosed within it many sinnes: for the eating of the forbidden fruit, was no small or single offence, but as some have taught, contained in it the breach of every Commandement of the Morall Law. Amongst the rest, Satan laboured to bring them to the sinne of *discontentment*, whereby they sought to become as gods, that is, better than God had made them, not resting content with the condition of men. This sinne was then learned, and could never since bee forgotten, but continually is derived from them to all their posteritie, and now is become so common a corruption in the whole nature of flesh and blood, that there is scarce a man to bee found who is not originally tainted therewith as hee is a man.

This corruption shewes it selfe principally in two things, both which are the maine causes of the practices of Witchcraft.

First, in mans outward estate: for hee being naturally possessed with a love of himselfe, and an high conceit of his owne deserving, when he lives in base and low estate, whether in regard of poverty, or want of honour and reputation, which hee thinks by right is due unto him: he then growes to some measure of griefe and sorrow within himselfe. Hereupon hee is moved to yeeld himselfe to the Devill, to bee his vassall and scholler in this wicked art, supposing that by the working of some wonders, he may be able in time to relieve his poverty, and to purchase to himselfe credit and countenance amongst men.

It were easie to shew the truth of this, by examples of some persons, who by these meanes have risen from nothing, to great places and preferments

Plinius de vit.
Pont. in vita Silii.
B.
Salom in AB.
Rom. Pont. lib. 5.
c. lib. 6.

preferments in the world. In stead of all, it appeareth in certaine Popes of Rome, as *Syluester* the second, *Benedict* the eighth, *Alexander* the sixth, *John* the twenty and the twenty one, &c. who for the attaining of the Popedom (as Histories record) gave themselves to the Devill in the practice of witchcraft, that by the working of wonders, they might rise from one step of honour to another, untill they had seated themselves in the chaire of the Papacy. So great was their desire of eminency in the Church, that it caused them to dislike meaner conditions of life, and never to cease aspiring, though they incurred thereby the hazard of good conscience, and the losse of their soules.

Aug. conf. f.
lib. 10. cap. 15.

The second degree of discontentment, is in the minde and inward man; and that is *curiositas*, when a man reflecteth not satisfied with the measure of inward gifts received, as of knowledge, wit, understanding, memorie, and such like, but aspires to search out such things as God would have kept secret: and hence hee is moved to attempt the cursed art of Magicke and Witchcraft, as a way to get further knowledge in matters secret and not revealed, that by working of wonders, hee may purchase fame in the world, and consequently reape more benefit by such unlawfull courses, than in likelihood he could have done by ordinary and lawfull means.

SECT. IV.

Fourthly, it is affirmed in the description, that Witchcraft is practised by the assistance of the Devill, yet the more fully to distinguish it from all good, lawfull, and commendable arts. For in their experience teacheth, that the Art-master is able by himselfe to practise his art, and to doe things belonging thereunto, without the helpe of another. But in this it is otherwise; for here the worke is done by the helpe of another; namely, the Devill, who is confederate with the Witch. The power of effecting such strange workes, is not in the art, neither doth it flow from the skill of the Sorcerer, man or woman, but is derived wholly from Satan, and is brought into execution by vertue of mutuall confederacy, betwene him and the Magician.

Now that this part of the description may be more clearly manifested, wee are to proceed to a further point, to shew what kinde of wonders they be which are ordinarily wrought by the ministry and power of the devill.

§ 1. Wonders therefore be of two sorts; either true and plaine, or lying and deceitfull.

A true wonder is a rare worke, done by the power of God simply, either above, or against the power of nature, and it is properly called a *miracle*. The Scripture is plentifull in examples of this kinde. Of this sort was the dividing of the red Sea, and making it dry land by a mighty East wind, that the children of Israel might passe therow it, Exod. 14. 21. For though the East wind be naturally of great force to move

A the waters, and to dry the earth; yet to part the sea asunder, and to make the waters to stand as walls on each side, and the bottom of the sea as a pavement, this is a worke simply above the naturall power of any wind, and therefore is a miracle. Again, such were the wonders done by *Moses* & *Aaron* before *Pharaoh* in Egypt, one whereof, in stead of many, was the turning of *Aaron*'s rod into a serpent, a worke truly miraculous. For it is above the power of naturall generation, that the substance of one creature should be really turned into the substance of another, as the substance of a rod into the substance of a serpent. Of the like kinde were the standing of the Sunne in the Firmament without moving in his course for a whole day, Josh. 10. 13. the going backe of the Sunne in the firmament ten degrees, 2 Kings 20. 11. the preservation of the three men, *Shadrach*, *Meshaiah*, and *Abednego* in the midst of the hot fiery furnace, Dan. 3. 25. and of *Daniel* in the Lions den, Dan. 6. 12. the feeding of five thousand men, beside women and children, with five loaves and two fishes, Math. 14. 20, 21. the curing of the eyes of the blinde man with spittle and clay tempered together, John 9. 6, 7, &c.

Now the effecting of a miracle in this kinde, is a worke proper to God onely; and no creature, man, or Angell, can doe any thing either above or contrary to nature, but hee alone which is the Creator. For as God in the beginning made all things of nothing, so he hath reserved to himselfe, as a peculiar worke of his almighty power, to change or abolish the substance, property, motion, and use of any creature. The reason is, because he is the author and creator of nature, and therefore at his pleasure, is perfectly able to command, restraints, enlarge, or extend the power and strength thereof, without the helpe or assistance of the creature.

Against the working of a miracle is a kinde of creation, for therein a thing is made to bee which was not before. And this must needs bee proper to God alone, by whose power things that are, were once produced out of things that did not appeare. The conclusion therefore must needs be this, which *David* confesseth in the Psalm: *God only doth wonderful things*, Psal. 136. 4. that is, works simply wonderful.

But it is alleged to the contrary, that the Prophets in the old Testament, and the Apostles in the new, did worke miracles. I answer, they did so, but how? not by their owne power, but by the power of God, being onely his instruments, whom he used for some speciall purpose in those workes, and such as did not themselves cause the miracle, but God in and by them. The same doth *Peter* and *John* acknowledge, when they had restored the lame man to the perfect use of his limbs, that by their power and godlinesse, they had not made the man to see, Act. 3. 12.

Againe, it is objected, that our Saviour Christ in his manhood wrought many miracles, as those before mentioned, and many more. *Ans.* Christ as he was man did something in the working of miracles, but not all. For in every miraculous worke there be two things; the worke it selfe, and the acting or dispensing of the worke: the worke it selfe being by nature and substance miraculous, considering it was above or against the order of naturall causes, did not proceed from Christ as man, but from him as God; but the dispensation of the same, in this or that visibible manner, to the view of men, was done and performed by his manhood. For example; The raising up of *Lazarus* out of the grave, having bene dead foure daies, was a miracle; to the effecting whereof, both the God-head and manhood of Christ concurred, by their severall and distinct actions. The manhood only uttered the voice, and bade *Lazarus* come forth, but it was the God-head of Christ that fetched his soule from Heaven, and put it againe into his body, yea, which gave life and power to *Lazarus*, to heare the voice uttered, to rise and come forth, *Joh. 11. 43.* In like manner, when he gave sight to the blinde, *Mat. 20. 34.* he touched their eyes with the hands of his manhood, but the power of opening them, and making them to see, came from his God-head, whereby he was able to doe all things. And in all other miraculous workes which he did; the miracle was alwaies wrought by his divine power onely, the outward actions and circumstances that accompanied the same, proceeded from him as he was man.

Now, if Christ as he is man, cannot worke a true miracle, then no meere creature can doe it; no not the Angels themselves, and consequently not Satan, it being a meere supernaturall worke, performed onely by the omnipotent power of God.

§ 2 The second sort of wonders, are lying and deceitfull, which also are extraordinary workes in regard of man, because they proceed not from the usuall and ordinary course of nature: and yet they be no miracles, because they are done by the vertue of nature, and not above or against nature simply, but above and against the ordinary course thereof: and these are properly such wonders as are done by Satan and his instruments: examples whereof we shall see afterwards.

If any man in reason thinke it not likely that a creature should be able to worke extraordinarily by naturall means; he must remember that though God hath reserved to himselfe alone the power of abolishing and changing nature, the order whereof hee set and established in the creation, yet the alteration of the ordinarie course of nature, hee hath put in the power of his strongest creatures, Angels and Devils. That the Angels have received this power, and doe execute the same upon his command or permission, it is manifest by Scripture, and the

A prooffe of it is not so necessary in this place. But that Satan is able to doe extraordinary workes by the helpe of nature (which is the question in hand) it shall appeare, if wee consider in him these things.

First, the Devill is by nature a spirit, and therefore of great understanding, knowledge, and capacity in all naturall things, of what sort, quality, and condition soever, whether they be causes or effects, whether of a simple or mixt nature. By reason whereof hee can search more deeply and narrowly into the grounds of things, than all creatures that are cloathed with flesh and bloud.

Secondly, he is an ancient spirit, whose skill hath bene confirmed by experience of the course of nature, for the space almost of six thousand yeares. Hence hee hath attained to the knowledge of many secrets, and by long observation of the effects, is able to discern and judge of hidden causes in nature, which man in likelihood cannot come unto by ordinary meanes, for want of that opportunity both of understanding and experience. Herepon it is, that whereas in nature there be some properties, causes, and effects, which man never imagined to be; others, that man did once know, but are now forgot; some, which men knew not, but might know; and thousands which can hardly, or not at all be knowne: all these are most familiar unto him, because in themselves they bee no wonders, but only mysteries and secrets, the vertue and effect whereof he hath sometime observed since his creation.

Thirdly, he is a spirit of wonderful power and might, able to shake the earth, and to confound the creatures inferiour unto him in nature and condition, if he were not restrained by the omnipotent power of God. And this power, as it was great by his creation, so it is not impaired by his fall; but rather increased, and made more forcible by his irreconcilable malice: hee beareth to mankind, specially the seed of the woman.

Fourthly, there is in the devill an admirable quicknesse and agility, proceeding from his spiritall nature, whereby he can very speedily and in a short space of time, convey himselfe and other creatures into places far distant one from another. By these foure helpes, Satan is enabled to doe strange works. *Strange* I say to man, whose knowledge since the fall is mingled with much ignorance, even in naturall things; whose experience is of short continuance, and much hindered by forgetfulness; whose agility by reason of his grosse nature is nothing, if he had not the helpe of other creatures; whose power is but weaknesse and infirmity in comparison of Satans.

Yet if there be any further doubt, how Satan can by these helps worke wonders, we may be resolved of the truth thereof by considering three other things: First, that by reason of his great knowledge and skill in nature, he is able

to apply creature to creature, and the causes efficient to the matter, and thereby bring things to passe, that are in common conceit impossible.

Secondly, he hath power to mooue them, not onely according to the ordinarie course, but with much more speed and celeritie.

Thirdly, as he can apply and mooue, so by his spirituall nature he is able, if God permit, to conuey himselfe into the substance of the creature, without any penetration of dimensions, and beeing in the creature, although it be neuer so solide, he can worke therein, not onely according to the principles of the nature thereof, but as farre as the strength and abilitie of those principles will possibly reach & extend themselves. Thus it appeareth, that the deuill can in generall worke wonders.

§ 3. Now more particularly, the Devils wonders are of two sorts. Illusions, or reall actions.

An illusion is a worke of Satan, whereby he deludeth or deceiueth man. And it is twofold, either of the outward senses, or of the minde. An illusion of the outward senses, is a worke of the deuill, whereby he makes a man to think that he heareth, seeth, feeleth or toucheth such things as indeede he doth not. This the deuill can easily doe diuers waies, euen by the strength of nature. For example, by corrupting the instruments of sense, as the humor of the eye, &c. or by altering and changing the ayre, which is the meanes whereby we see, and such like.

Experience teacheth vs, that the deuill is a skilfull practitioner in this kinde, though the meanes whereby he worketh such feats, be vnknowne vnto vs. In this manner Paul affirmeth that the Galatians were deluded, when he saith, *O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you?* Gal. 3. 1. Where he useth a word * borrowed from the practise of Witches and forcerers, who vse to cast a miste (as it were) before the eyes, to dazle them, and make things to appeare vnto them, which indeede they doe not see; and the ground of Pauls comparison, is that which he takes for a graunted truth, that there be such delusions, whereby mens senses are and may be corrupted by satanicall operation.

Thus againe the deuill by the Witch of Endor deceived Saul in the appearance of Samuel, 1. Sam. 28. making him belecue that it had beene Samuel indeede, whereas it was but a meere counterfeit of him, as shall appeare hereafter. Againe, the deuill knowing the constitutions of men and the particular diseases whereunto they are inclined, takes the vantage of some, and secondeth the nature of the disease by the concurrence of his owne delusion, thereby corrupting the imagination, and working in the minde a strong perswasion, that they are become, that which in truth they are not. This is apparant in that disease which is termed *Lycanthropia*, where some, hauing their brains possessed & disordered with melancholy, haue verily thought themselves to be wolues, & so haue be-

A haued themselves. And the histories of men in former ages, haue recorded strange testimonies of some that haue beene thus turned into wolues, lyons, dogges, birds, and other creatures, which could not be really in substance, but onely in appearance, and phantasie corrupted, and so these records are true. For God in his iust iudgement may suffer some men so to be bewitched by the deuill, that to their conceit they may seeme to be like these brute beasts, though indeede they remaine true men still. For it is a worke surmounting the devils power, to change the substance of any one creature, into the substance of another. By this kind of delusion the Church of Rome, in the times of blindness and ignorance, hath taken great advantage, and much encreased her riches and honour. For there be three points of the religion of that Church, to witte, *Purgatorie, Invocation of Saints, and honouring of Reliques*, whereby she hath notably enriched her selfe, all which had their first foundation from these, and such like Satanicall impostures. For the onely way whereby they haue brought the common sort to yeeld vnto them, both for beleefe and practise, hath beene by deluding their outward senses, with false apparitions of ghosts and soules of men, walking and ranging abroad after their departure, and such like; whereby simple persons, ignorant of their fetches and delusions, haue beene much affrighted, and caused through extremitie of feare and dread, to purchase their owne peace and securitie, by many and great expenses. And indeede these were the strongest arguments that euer they had, and which most preuailed with the common people as is manifest in stories of all nations and ages, where such deceits haue taken place, though oftentimes by the iust iudgement of God, they were taken in their craft, & their feats reuealed.

The second kinde of illusion, is of *the mind*, whereby the deuill deceiues the minde, and makes a man thinke that of himselfe which is not true. Thus experience teacheth, that he hath deluded men both in former & later times, who haue auouched and professed themselves to be Kings, or the sonnes of Kings. Yea some haue holden themselves to be Christ, some to be Elias, some to be Iohn the Baptist, and some extraordinarie Prophets. And the like conceits haue entred into the minds of fundrie Witches, by the suggestion and perswasion of the deuill. To whom, when they haue wholly resigned their soules and bodies, they haue beene mooued to beleue things impossible touching themselves, as that they haue indeed beene changed into other creatures, as cats, birds, mice, &c. The inquisitions of Spaine and other countries, wherein these and such like things are recorded touching Witches really metamorphosed into such creatures, cannot be true; considering that it is not in the power of the deuill, thus to change substances into other substances. And those conuerfions recorded by them,

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August. de
ci. Deil. l. 18.
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* *Witchcraft.*

Perkins, W.

were onely Satans illusions, wherewith the minds of Witches were possessed, and nothing else; which though they were extraordinary, (as the rest of this kind are) yet they went not beyond the power of nature.

The second sort of the devils wonders, are *reall workes*, that is, such as are indeede that which they seeme and appeare to be. These, howsoever to men that knowe not the natures of things, nor the secret and hidden causes thereof, they may seeme very strange and admirable, yet they are no true miracles, because they are not about & beyond the power of nature.

If it be here alleadged, that the devills workes are not reall and true actions, because the holy Ghost calleth them *Lying wonders*, 2. Theff. 2. 9. I answer, that they are called *Lying wonders*, not in respect of the workes themselves, for they were wonders truly done and effected; but in regard of the devils ende and purpose in working them, which is to lie vnto men, and by them to deceiue. The truth of which point will appeare in the view of some particular exāples.

First, we reade in the historie of Iob, that Satan brought downe fire from heauen, which burnt vp Iobs sheepe and seruantes; and caused a mightie winde to blowe down the house vpon his children, as they were feasting, to destroy them. Againe, he smote the bodie of Iob with botches and boyles. All these were true and reall workes, very strange and admirable, and yet no miracles, because they exceeded not the compasse of nature. For first, when he cast downe the fire from heauen, he did not create the fire of nothing, for that is a worke proper to God alone, but applyed creature to creature, and thereof produced such a matter as was fit to make fire of. If it be demanded, how he is able to doe this? we must remember, that his knowledge in natural causes is great, and therefore he was not ignorant of the materiall cause of fire, which beeing thoroughly knowne and found out, Satan brought fire vnto it, and so putting fire to the matter of fire, he brought it down by his power and agilitie from heauen, vpon the cattell and seruants of Iob. Againe, the winde which blew downe the house, where his sonnes and daughters were eating and drinking, was not created by the deuill, but he knowing well the matter whereof winds are generated naturally, added matter to matter, and thence came the winde; whereunto he ioynes himselfe, beeing a spirit of a swift and speedie nature, and so makes it for his owne purpose, the more violent and forcible. Thirdly, he smote Iobs bodie with sore boyles, from the crowne of his head to the sole of his foote. Now this may seeme strange that he should haue such power ouer mans bodie, as to cause such diseases to breed in it. Therefore we are further to vnderstand, that his knowledge extendeth it selfe to the whole frame and disposition of mans bodie, whereby it comes to passe, that the causes of all diseases are well knowne

A vnto him, and he is not ignorant how the humors in the bodie may be putrified, and what corrupt humors will breed such and such diseases, and by what meanes the aire it selfe may be infected: hereupon preparing his matter, and applying cause to cause, he practised vpon the bodie of Iob, & filled him with grievous sores.

Another example of Satans reall workes is this. By reason of his great power and skill, he is able to appeare in the forme and shape of a man, and resemble any person or creature, and that not by deluding the senses, but by assuming to himselfe a true bodie. His power is not so large, as to create a bodie, or bring againe a soule into a bodie, yet by his dexteritie and skill in naturall causes he can worke wonderfully. For he is able, hauing gathered together fit matter, to ioine member to member, and to make a true bodie, either after the likenesse of man, or some other creature; and hauing so done, to enter into it, to moue and stirre it vp and downe, and therein visibly and sensibly to appeare vnto man; which though it be a strange work, and besides the ordinary course of nature, yet it is not simply about the power thereof.

For a third instance. The deuill is able to vtter a voice in plaine words and speech, answerable to mans vnderstanding in any language. Not that he can take vnto himselfe, beeing a spirit, an immediate power to speake or frame a voyce of nothing without meanes, but knowing the naturall and proper causes and meanes by which men doe speake, by them he frames in himselfe the voyce of a man, and plainly vtters the same in a knowne language. In this manner he abused the tongue and mouth of the serpent, when in plaine words he tempted Eue to eate the forbidden fruit. Now it is to be remembered here, that when the deuill speakes in a creature, it must be such a creature, as hath the instruments of speech, or such whereby speech may be framed and vttered, not otherwise: for it was neuer heard that he spake in a stocke or a stone, or any created entity, that had not the meanes and power of vttering a voice, at least in some sort; it beeing a worke peculiar to the Creator, to giue power of vtterance where it is not by creation. Againe, when he frameth a voyce in a creature, he doth it not by giuing an immediate power to speake, for that he cannot doe, and the creature abused by him, remaineth in that regard, as it was before. But it beeing naturally fitted and disposed to vtter a voice, though not perfectly to speake as a man he furthereth and helpeth nature in it, and addeth to the facultie thereof a present vse of words, by ordering and ruling the instruments to his intended purposes. And to conclude this point, looke what strange workes and wonders may be truly effected by the power of nature, (though they be not ordinarily brought to passe in the course of nature) those the deuill can doe, and so farre forth as the power of nature will permit, he is able to work true wonders, though
for

Iob 1.16.

verf. 19.

for a false and euill end.

Here a question is moued by some, whether the deuill can change one creature into another, as a man or a woman into a beaſt? for ſome, notwithstanding the doctrine already taught, are of opinion, that he can turne the bodies of Witches into other creatures, as hares, cattes, and ſuch like. *Anſ.* The tranſmutation of the ſubſtance of one creature into another, as of a man into a beaſt of what kind ſoeuer, is a worke ſimply about the power of nature, and therefore cannot be done by the deuill, or any creature. For it is the proper work of God alone, as I haue ſaid, to create, to change, or abolish nature.

It is objected, that ſuch changes haue beene made. For Lots wife was turned into a pillar of ſalt, Gen. 19. 26. *Anſ.* It is true, but that was done by the mightie power of God, neither can it be prooued that any creature, Angel, or other was euer able to doe the like.

But it is further ſaid, that king Nabuchadnezzar was turned into a beaſt, and did eate graſſe with the beaſts of the field, Dan. 4. 30. *Anſ.* There is no ſuch matter: his ſubſtance was not changed, ſo as his bodie became the bodie of a beaſt indeed, but his conditions onely were altered by the iudgement of God vpon his mind, whereby he was ſo farre forth bereaued of humane ſenſe and vnderſtanding. Againe, for his behauiour and kinde of life, he became altogether brutiſh for the time, and excepting onely his outward forme and ſhape, no part of humanitie could appeare in him: but that he retained his humane bodie ſtill, it is euident by his owne words, verſ. 31. when he ſaith, *And mine vnderſtanding was reſtored to me*: which argueth plainly, that the hand of God was vpon him in ſome kinde of madneſſe and furie, and therefore that there was not a change of his bodie & ſubſtance, but a ſtrange and fearefull alteration in his minde and outward behauiour. And though ſuch a tranſmutation ſhould be granted, yet it makes nothing for the purpoſe, conſidering it was the worke of God onely, and not of the deuill. And thus we ſee what kinde of wonders the Deuill can bring to paſſe. The meditation of which point may teach vs two things.

First, that the working of wonders is not a thing that will commend man vnto God, for the deuill himſelfe, a wicked ſpirit, can worke them: and many ſhall alledge this in the day of iudgement, that they haue by the name of God caſt out deuills, and done many great workes, to whome notwithstanding the Lord will ſay, *I neuer knew you; depart from me ye workers of iniquitie*, Matth. 7. 22. 23. It behooueth vs rather to get vnto our ſelues the precious gifts of faith, repentance, and the feare of God, yea to goe before others in a godly life and vpright conuerſation, then to excell in effecting of ſtrange workes. When the ſeauentie Diſciples came to our Sauour Chriſt with ioy, and tolde him, that *euē the deuills were ſubdued vnto the through his name*, Luk. 10. 17. he counſels them,

A not to reioyce in this, that wicked ſpirits were ſubdued vnto them, but rather, becauſe their names were written in heauen, verſ. 20.

Indeed to be able to worke a wonder, is an excellent gift of God, and may miniſter matter of reioycing, when it proceedeth from God: but ſeeing the deuill receiued this power by the gift of creation, our ſpeciall ioy muſt not be therein, but rather in this, that we are the adopted ſonnes of God, in which priuiledge the deuill hath no part with vs. And therefore the Apoſtle, 1. Cor. 13. making a compariſon of the gifts of the ſpirit, as of ſpeaking diuers tongues, of prophecying, and working miracles, with loue: in the ende, wiſheth men to labour for the beſt gifts, which are faith, hope, and loue, becauſe by theſe we are made partakers of Chriſt, on whom we ought to ſet our hearts, & in whome we are commanded alwaies to reioyce, Phil. 4. 4.

Secondly, we learne from hence, not to beleeue or receiue a doctrine now or at any time, becauſe it is confirmed by wonders. For the deuill himſelfe is able to confirme his errors and Idolatrous ſeruices by ſtrange and extraordinarie ſignes, by which vſually he laboureth to auouch & verifie the groſſeſt points of falſhood in matter of religion. On the contrarie, we muſt not reiect or contemne a doctrine, becauſe it is not thus confirmed. This was a maine fault in the Iewes, who would not receiue the word preached by Chriſt, vneſſe he ſhewed them a ſigne from heauen. Indeed in the primitive Church it pleaſed God to confirme that doctrine which the Apoſtles taught, by great ſignes and miracles, but now that gift is ceaſed, and the Church hath no warrant to expect any further euidence of the religion it profeſſeth & enioyeth by arguments of that kind; yea rather it hath cauſe to ſuſpect a doctrine taught for the wonders ſake, wherby men labour to auouch it.

Seſ. V.

The laſt claue in the deſcription, is this; *ſo farre forth as God in iuſtice ſuffereth*: which I adde, for two cauſes. Firſt, to ſhew that God, for iuſt cauſes, permitteth the Arts of Magicke and Witchcraft, and the practiſes thereof. Now this he doth in his prouidence, either for the triall of his children, or for the puniſhment of the wicked.

First therefore God permits theſe wicked arts in the Church, to prooue whether his children wil ſteadfaſtly beleeue in him, and ſeek vnto his word, or cleaue vnto the deuill, by ſeeking to his wicked inſtruments. This Moſes plainly forwarned the Church of God, in his time. Deu. 13. 1. *If there ariſe among you a Prophet, or a dreamer of dreams, and giue thee a ſigne or wonder, v. 2. and the ſigne and wonder which he hath told thee, come to paſſe: ſaying, Let vs goe after other gods, which thou haſt not knowne, and ſerue them, v. 3. thou ſhalt not hearken to the words of that Prophet, &c.*

Againe,

Auguſt. de
Trials. 3. 67.

2. Thess. 2.
10, 11.

v. 12.

Exod. 7.
& 8.

Againe, God suffereth them for the punishment of vnbeleeuers and wicked men: for oftentimes God punisheth one sinne by another, as the antecedent finnes by the consequent. This *Paul* plainly sheweth (speaking of the daies of Antichrist) that *because men receiued not the loue of the truth, therefore God would send vpon them strong illusions, that they should beleue lies.* And we may resolue our selues, that for this very cause, God suffereth the practises of Witchcraft, to be so rise in these our daies, to punish the ingratitude of men, who haue the truth reuealed vnto them, and yet will not beleue and obey the same, but tread it vnder their feete, *that all they might be condemned which beleued not the truth, but tooke pleasure in vnrightheousnesse.*

Secondly, this last clause is added, to shew that in the practises of sorcerie and Witchcraft, the Deuill can doe so much onely as God permits him, and no more. Doublesse, his malice reacheth further, and consequently his will and desire; but God hath restrained his power, in the execution of his malicious purposes, whereupon he cannot goe a whit further, then God giues him leaue and libertie to goe. The Magicians of Egypt did some wonders, in shew like vnto the miracles wrought by Moses and Aaron, and that for a time, by changing a rodde into a serpent, and water into blood, and by bringing frogs through the sleight and power of the Deuill; but when it pleased God to determine their practises, and giue them no further libertie, they could not doe that, which in likelihood was the meaneft of all the rest, the turning of the dust of the land into lice; and themselves gaue the true reason thereof, saying, *That this was the finger of God,* Exod. 8. 19. When the deuill went out and became a false spirit in the mouth of all Ahabs prophets, to intise him to goe to fall at Ramoth Gilead, he went not of his owne will, but by the authoritie of God, who commanded him to goe to entise Ahab, and suffered him to preuaile, 1. King. 22. 22. and the act was not the act of Satan, but of God, whose instrument he was; and therefore the holy Ghost said by Micahiah, *The Lord hath put a lying spirit in the mouth of all these thy Prophets, and the Lord hath appointed euill against thee,* v. 23. Hence also it was, that the deuills, beeing cast out of the man that had an vnclane spirit, asked leaue of Christ to enter into the heard of swine, and could not enter till he had permitted them; Mark. 5. 12, 13. And we read oftentimes in the Gospell, that our Sauour cast out many deuills by his word onely, thereby shewing that he was absolute Lord ouer them, and that without his permission, they could doe nothing.

And thus much touching the generall nature of this Arte.

CHAP. II.

The Ground of Witch-

craft, and of all the practises thereof.

THe Ground of all the practises of Witchcraft, is a league or couenant made betweene the Witch and the Deuill: wherein they doe mutually binde themselves each to other. If any shall thinke it strange, that man or woman should enter league with Satan; their vter enemie; they are to knowe it for a most euident and certaine truth, that may not be called into question. And yet to cleare the iudgement of any one in this point, I will set downe some reasons in way of prooffe.

First, the holy Scripture doth intimate so much vnto vs in the 58. Psal. v. 5. where, howsoever the common translation runneth in other tearmes, yet the wordes are properly to be read thus: *which heareth not the voice of the mutterer ioyning societies cunningly.* And in them the Psalmist layeth downe two points. First, the effect or worke of a charme, muttered by the Inchanter; namely, that it is able to stay the Adder from stinging those which shall lay hold on him, or touch him. Secondly, the maine foundation of the charme; societies or confederacies cunningly made, not betweene man and man, but (as the words import) betweene the Inchanter and the deuill. The like we reade, Deut. 18. 11. where the Lord chargeth his people when they come into the land of Canaan, that amongst other abominations of the heathen, they should beware least any were found amongst them, that ioyned societie, that is, entred into league and compact with wicked spirits.

A second reason may be this: it is the practise of the deuill to offer to make a bargaine and couenant with man. Thus he dealt with our Sauour Christ in the third temptation, where-with he assaulted him, promising to giue vnto him all the kingdomes of the earth; and the glorie of them, (which he shewed him in a vision) if Christ for his part would fall downe and worship him. The offer was passed on the behalfe of Satan, and nowe to make a perfect compact betweene them, there was nothing wanting but the free consent of our Sauour vnto the condition propounded. Whereby it is manifest, that the deuill makes many covenants in the world, because he findeth men and women in the most places, fitted for his turne in this kind, who will not let to worship him for a farre lesse matter then a kingdome. And it is not to be doubted, that thousands in the world, had they beene offered so faire as Christ was, would haue been as willing to haue yeelded vpon such conditions, as the deuill to haue offered.

Thirdly, the common confession of all Witches and Sorcerers, both before and since the

Math. 4. 9.

com-

comming of Christ, doth yet more fully confirme the same. For they haue confessed with one consent, that the very ground-worke of all their practises in this wicked art, is their league with the deuill. And hence it appeareth, how and whereupon it is, that Sorcerers & Witches can bring to passe strange things by the helpe of Satan, which other men ordinarily cannot doe; namely, because they haue entred a league with him, whereby he hath bound himselfe to them, for the effecting of rare and extraordinarie workes, which others, not ioyned with him in the like confederacie, are not able either by his helpe, or any power or policy of their owne to bring to passe. Hereupon it was, that the Witch of Endor shewed vnto Saul the appearance of Samuel, which neither Saul himselfe, nor any in all his court could doe. There was no great vertue in the matter or frame of her words, for she was ignorant and had no learning. By power she could not effect it, beeing a weake woman; neither was it like that she had more cunning and pollicie then any of the learned Iewes in those times had for such purposes. The maine reason was, her league made with Satan, by vertue whereof she commanded him to appeare in the likenesse of Samuel, which neither Saul, nor any of his companie could doe, by vertue of such couenant, which they had not made.

The ende why the Deuill seeketh to make a league with men, may be this: It is a point of his pollicy, not to be readie at euery mans command to doe for him what he would, except he be sure of his reward; and no other meanes will serue his turne for taking assurance hereof, but this couenant. And why so? that hereby he may resist both his hatred of God, and his malice against man. For since the time that he was cast downe from heauen, he hath hated God & his kingdome, and greatly maligned the happy estate of man, especially since the couenant of grace made with our first parents in Paradise. For he thought to haue brought vpon them by their fall, eternall and finall confusion, but perceiving the contrarie by vertue of the couenant of grace, then manifested, and seeing man by it to be in a better and surer estate then before, he much more maligned his estate, and beares the ranker hatred vnto God for that his mercie bestowed vpon him.

Now that he might shew forth this hatred and malice, he takes vpon him to imitate God, and to counterfeit his dealings with his church. As God therefore hath made a couenant with his people, so Satan ioynes in league with the world, labouring to bind some men vnto him, that so, if it were possible, he might draw them from the couenant of God, and disgrace the same. Againe, as God hath his word and Sacraments, the seales of his couenant vnto beleeuers; so the deuill hath his words and certaine outward signes to ratifie the same to his instruments, as namely, his figures, characters, gestures, and other Satanicall ceremonies, for the

A confirmation of the truth of his league vnto them. Yea further, as God in his couenant, requires faith of vs to the beleeuing of his promises: so the deuill in his compact, requires faith of his vassals, to put their affiance in him, and rely on him for the doing of whatsoever he bindes himselfe to doe. Lastly, as God heares them that call vpon him according to his will: so is Satan readie at hand vpon the premisses, endeavouring to the utmost of his power, (when God permits him) to bring to passe whatsoever he hath promised. And so much of the league in generall;

B More particularly, the league betweene the Deuill and a Witch, is twofold: either expresse and open, or secret and close.

The expresse and manifest compact is so tearmed; because it is made by solemne words on both parties. And it is not so expressely set downe in Scriptures, as in the writings of learned men, which haue recorded the confessions of Witches, and they expresse it in this manner. First, the Witch for his part, as a slaue of the deuill, bindes himselfe vnto him by solemne vowe and promise to renounce the true God, his holy word, the couenant he made in Baptisme, and his redemption by Christ; and withall to beleue in the Deuill, to expect and receiue aide and helpe from him, and at the ende of his life, to giue him either bodie, or soule, or both: and for the ratifying hereof, he giues to the deuill for the present, either his owne hand writing, or some part of his blood, as a pledge and earnest penny to bind the bargaine. The deuill on the other side, for his part promiseth to bee ready at his vassals command, to appeare at any time in the likenesse of any creature, to consult with him, to aide and helpe him in any thing he shall take in hand, for the procuring of pleasures, honour, wealth, or preferment, to goe for him, to carrie him whether he will; in a word, to doe for him, whatsoever he shall command. Many sufficient testimonies might be alleadged for the prooffe hereof, but it is so manifest in daily experience, that it cannot well be called into question.

D But yet if it seeme strange vnto any, that there should be such persons in the world, that make such fearefull covenants with the deuill; let them consider but this one thing, and it will put them out of doubt.

The nature of man is exceeding impatient in crosses, and outward afflictions are so tedious vnto mortall mindes, and presse them with such a measure of griefe, that some could be contented with all their hearts to be out of the world, if thereby they might be released of such extremities, and hereupon they care not what meanes they vse, what conditions they undertake to ease and helpe themselves. The deuill finding men in these perplexities, is readie to take his advantage, and therefore perceiving them now fitted for his purpose to worke vpon; he insinuates and offers himselfe to procure them ease

and deliuerance, if they will vse such meanes, as he shall prescribe for that purpose: and to a natural man there is no greater meane then this to make him ioyne societie with the deuill. He therefore, without any further doubting or deliberation, condescends to Satan, so as he may be eased and releued in these miseries.

Againe, we are to consider, that in these cases the deuill getteth the greater hold of man, and mooues him to yeeld vnto his suggestions the rather, because that which he promiseth to doe for him is present and at his command, and therefore certaine; whereas the thing to be performed on the behalfe of the partie himselfe, as the giuing of bodie and soule, &c. is to come sundrie yeares after, and therefore in regard of the particular time, vncertaine. Now the natural man not regarding his future and finall estate, preferres the present commoditie before the losse and punishment that is to come a farre of, and therby is perswaded to yeeld himselfe vnto Satan. And by these and such like antecedents are many brought to make open league with the deuill.

The secret and close league betweene the Witch and Satan is that, wherein they mutually giue consent each to other, but yet without a sworne couenant conceiued in expresse words and conference. Of this there be two degrees. First, when a man vseth superstitious formes of prayer, wherein he expressely requireth the helpe of the deuill, without any mention of solemne words or couenant going before. That this is a kind of compact it is plaine, because herein there is a mutuall vnder-hand consent betweene the partie and the deuill, though it be not manifest. For when a man is content to vse superstitious formes of inuocation, for helpe in time of need; by the very vsing of them, his heart consenteth to Satan, and he would gladly haue the thing effected. When therefore the deuill hath notice of them, and endeaouureth to effect the thing prayed for, therein also he giues consent; so as though there be no expresse words of compact outwardly framed on both parts, yet the concurrence of a mutuall consent for the bringing to passe of the same things, makes the couenant authenticall. For according to the received rules of equitie and reason; mutuall consent of partie with partie, is sufficient to make a bargain, though there be no solemne course or forme of words to manifest the same to others.

The second degree is, when a man vseth superstitious meanes to bring any thing to passe, which in his owne knowledge, haue no such vertue in themselves to effect it, without the especiall operation of the deuill.

Superstitious meanes I call all those, which neither by order of creation, nor by the speciall appointment and blessing of God since, haue any vertue in them, to bring to passe that thing for which they are vsed. For example; A charme, consisting of set words and syllables, both rude, barbarous, and vnknowne, vsed for the curing

A of some disease or paine, is a superstitious meanes; because it hath no vertue in it selfe to cure, either by the gift of God in the creation, or by any speciall appointment afterward in his word or otherwise. And therefore when this meane is vsed by man, which he knoweth hath no such vertue in it, for the effecting of that worke for which it was vsed, there is a secret league made with the deuill.

Yet here I adde this clause, *in his own knowledge*, to put a difference betweene men, which vse superstitious meanes to bring some things to passe: For some there be which when they vse them, know they be meereley superstitious, yea weake and impotent, hauing no vertue in themselves for the purpose whereto they are vsed; as the repeating of certaine formes of words; the vsing of signes, characters, and figures, which in effect are meere charmes, no whit effectuell in themselves, but so farre forth as they serue for watchwords vnto Satan, without whose ayd nothing is done by them. A plaine argument that the vser hereof hath in his heart secretly indented with Satan, for the accomplishment of his intended workes. A second sort there is, which vseth them for some speciall ende, being perswaded that there is vertue in the means themselves to bring the thing to passe, & yet not knowing that either they be superstitious, or haue their efficacie by the power and worke of the deuill. Such persons haue made as yet no league with Satan, but they are in the high way thereunto. And this course is a fit preparation to cause them to ioyne with him in couenant. I shew it by an example. A man is fallen into some extremitie, and findes himselfe bewitched; his paine is great, and he desires with all his heart to be cured and deliuered: Hereupon he sendeth for the suspected Witch; being come, he offers to scratch him or her, thinking by this meanes to bee cured of the Witchcraft. His reason is no other, then a strong perswasion, that there is simply vertue in his scratching to cure him, and discouer the Witch, not once suspecting that the helpe cometh by the power of the Deuill, but from the action it selfe. This doing, he may be healed: but the truth is, he sinneth and breakes D Gods commandement. For the vsing of these meanes is plaine Witchcraft, as afterward wee shall see. And yet for all this, the partie cannot be said in present to haue made a league with Satan, because he thought, that though he yeelded to the vse of superstitious meanes for his curing, yet there had bin in the said meanes a vertue of healing, without any helpe or worke of the deuill.

CHAP. III.

Of the kinds of Witchcraft, and first of Divination.

Witchcraft is of two sorts; *Diuining*, or *Working*. For the whole nature of this art, consisteth

either

either in matter of Diuination and coniecture, or in matter of practise. And in both these it is to be remembered, that nothing can be effected, vnlesse the partie haue made a league with the Deuill, expresse or secret, or at the least, a preparation thereunto, by a false and erroneous opinion of the meanes.

Sect. I.

Diuination is a part of Witchcraft, whereby men reueale strange things, either past, present, or to come, by the assistance of the deuill.

If it be here demanded, how the deuill being a creature, should be able to manifest and bring to light things past, or to foretell things to come: I answer, first generally, that Satan in this particular worke, transformes himselfe into an Angell of light, and takes vpon him the exercise of these things in an ambitious (though false) imitation of diuine reuelations and predictions, made and vsed by God in the times of the Prophets and Apostles. And this he doth (as much as in him lieth) to obscure the glorie of God, and to make himselfe great in the opinion of ignorant and vnbelceuing persons. Again, though Satan be but a creature, yet there be sundry wayes whereby he is able to diuine.

First, by the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, wherein are set downe sundrie prophecies concerning things to come. In the Old Testament are recorded many prophecies concerning the state of Gods Church, from the first age of the world, till the coming of Christ. In the new Testament likewise are recorded others, touching the selfe same thing, fro the coming of Christ in the latter dayes, to the ende of the world. Now the deuill being acquainted with the historie of the Bible, and hauing attained vnto a greater light of knowledge in the Prophecies therein contained, then any man hath; by stealing diuinations out of them, he is able to tell of many strange things, that may in time fall out in the world, & answerably may shew them ere they come to passe.

For example; *Alexander* the great before he made warre with *Darius* king of *Persia*, consulted with the Oracle, that is, with the deuill, touching the event and issue of his enterprise. The Oracle answered him thus; *Alexander shall be a Conquerour*; vpon the prediction of the Oracle, *Alexander* wages warre with *Darius*, and inuades *Asia*, and hauing conquered him, translated the Empire from *Persia* to *Greece*, according as the Oracle had said. Now if question be made, how the deuill knew the event of this warre, and consequently made it knowne to *Alexander*? The answer is, by the helpe of a prophetic in the Olde testament; for this thing was particularly set downe before hand by the Prophet *Daniel*, Dan. 11. 3. where he saith; *That a mightie King shall stand vp, and shall rule with great dominion, and doe according to his pleasure*; & this was *Alexander* the great. Satan therefore knowing the secret meaning of

A the Angels words vnto *Daniel*, framed out of them a true and direct answer, whereas he was not able of himselfe to define certainly of the euent of things to come in particular.

The second meanes, whereby the Deuill is furnished for his purpose, is his owne exquisite knowledge of all naturall things; as of the influences of the starres, the constitutions of men, and other creatures, the kinds, vertues, and operations of plants, rootes, hearbs, stones, &c. which knowledge of his, goeth many degrees beyond the skill of all men, yea euen of those that are most excellent in this kind, as Philosophers, and Phycians. No marueile therefore, though out of his experience in these and such like, he is able aforehand to giue a likely gesse at the issues and euent of things, which are to him so manifestly apparent in their causes.

A third helpe and furtherance in this point, is his presence in the most places: for some deuils are present at all assemblies and meetings, and thereby are acquainted with the consultations and conferences both of Princes and people; whereby knowing the drift and purpose of mens mindes, when the same is manifested in their speeches and deliberations, they are the fitter to foretell many things, which men ordinarily cannot doe. And hence it is apparant, how Witches may know what is done in other countries; and whether one nation intends warre against another, namely, by Satans suggestion, who was present at the consultation, and so knew it, and reuealed it vnto them. But how then comes it to passe, that the consultations and actions of Gods Church and children, are not disclosed to their enemies? euen by the vnspesakeable mercie and goodnesse of God, who though for speciall causes sometimes, he suffers Satan by this meanes to bring things to light, yet he hath restrained this his libertie, and subiected it vnto his owne will, so as he keepes him out of such meetings, or compells him to conceale; whereas otherwise his malice is so great, that not a word could be spoken, but it should be carried abroad to the hurt & disturbance both of Churches and common wealthe.

The fourth way, is by putting into mens mindes wicked purposes and counsels; for after the league once made he labourereth with them by suggestions, & where God giues him leaue, he neuer ceases perswading, til he hath brought his enterprise to passe. Hauing therefore first brought into the minde of man, a resolution to doe some euill, he goes and reueales it to the Witch, and by force of perswasion vpon the partie tempted, he frames the action intended to the time foretold, and so finally deludes the Witch his owne instrument, foretelling nothing, but what himselfe hath compassed and set about.

The fift helpe, is the agilitie of Satans nature whereby he is able speedily to conuey himselfe from place to place, yea to passe through the whol world in a short time. For God hath made

Plutarch. in
vita Alex.

chap. 8 po-
tius.

him by nature a *spirit*, who by the gift of his creation, hath attained the benefit of swiftness, not onely in dispatching his affaires, but also in the carriage of his person with great expedition for the present accomplishment of his owne desires.

Lastly, God doth often vse Satan as his instrument, for the effecting of his intended workes, and the executing of his iudgements vpon men; and in these cases manifesteth vnto him, the place where, the time when, and the manner how such a thing should be done. Now all such things as God will haue effected by the deuill, he may fortell before they come to passe, because he knowes them before hand by reuelation and assignment from God. Thus by the Witch of Endor hee foretolde to Saul the time of his death and of his sonnes, and the ruine of his kingdome, saying, *To morrow shalt thou and thy sonnes be with me, and the Lord shall giue the hoste of Israel into the hands of the Philistims*: which particular euents, and circumstances appertaining, he did truly define; not of himselfe, but because God had drawne away his good spirit from Saul, and had delivered him to be guided by the deuill, whom he also appointed as a meanes, and vsed as an instrument to worke his ouerthrowe. The Scripture indeede maketh not particular mention of the time of Sauls death, it onely recordeth the manner thereof, and that which followed vpon his death, the translating of the Kingdome to his neighbour David after him; and yet because God vsed Satan as an instrument to bring this to passe, hereupon he was able to fortell the particular time, when the will of God should be wrought vpon him. And these be the ordinarie meanes and helps whereby the deuill may know and declare strange things, whether past, present, or to come.

Neither may this seeme strange, that Satan by such meanes should attaine vnto such knowledge, for euē men by their owne obseruations may giue probable coniectures of the state and condition of sundry things to come. Thus wee read, that some by obseruation haue found out probably, and foretold the periods of families and kingdomes. For example, that the time and continuance of kingdomes is ordinarily determined at 500 yeares, or not much aboue; and that great families haue not gone beyond the sixt and seauenth generation. And as for speciall and priuate things, the world so runnes (as it were) in a circle, that if a man should but ordinarily obserue the course of things, either in the weather, or in the bodies of men, or otherwise, he might easily foretell before hand what would come after. And by these and such like instances of experiences, men haue gessed at the alterations and changes of estates and things in particular. Now if men which be but of short continuance, and of a shallow reach in comparison, are able to doe such things, how much more easily may the Deuill, hauing so great a measure of knowledge and experience,

and beeing of so long continuance, hauing also marked the course of all estates, be able to foretell many things which are to come to passe? specially considering what the wise man hath set downe to this purpose, that *that which hath beene, shall be; and that which hath beene done, shall be done; and there is no new thing vnder the Sunne*, Eccl. 1. 9.

If it be here alleadged, that diuination is a prerogatiue of God himselfe, and a part of his glorie incommunicable to any creature, *Isai. 41. 23.* I answer; Things to come must be considered two wayes; either in themselves, or in their causes and signes, which either goe with them, or before them. To foretell things to come, as they are in themselves, without respect vnto their signes or causes, is a propertie belonging to God onely; and the deuill doth it not by any direct and immediate knowledge of things simply considered in themselves, but onely as they are present in their signes or causes. Again, God foretellet things to come certainly, without the helpe of any creature, or other meanes out of himselfe; but the predictions of Satan are onely probable and coniecturall; and when hee foretellet any thing certainly, it is by some reuelation from God, as the death of Saul; or by the Scripture, as Alexanders victory; or by some speciall charge committed vnto him, for the execution of Gods will vpon some particular places or persons, as before hath beene shewed.

Thus much for the causes of Diuination. Now follow the parts and branches thereof. Diuination is of two sorts; either in and by meanes, or without meanes. Diuination by meanes, is likewise of two sorts: either by such as are the true creatures of God; or those which are meereley counterfeit and forged.

SECT. II.

Diuination by the true creatures of God, is distinguished according, to the number of the creatures, into fīue distinct kinds, whereof foure are mentioned in the Scriptures.

1. The first, is by the flying and noise of birds. Sorcerers among the heathen, vsed to obserue fowles in their flight; for example, whether they did flie on the right hand, or on the left; aboue them, or below by them; whether crosse and ouerthwart; or directly against them. In like manner they obserued the noise and sound of the fowle. And both these wayes, sometimes by the noise, and sometimes by the flight; they diuined of things to come, both publike and priuate, of good and bad successe in mans affaires; of the state of kingdoms, townes, families, and particular persons. Now this kind of diuination is condemned by Moses, *Deut. 18. 10.* *Let not be found among you that is a diuiner of diuinations*: that is, (as some interpret it) a marker of the flying of fowles; or a charmer, or a consulter with spirits, or a soothsayer; that is, such a one as by obseruing the flying and noise

of fowles, takes vpon him to foretell good or bad successe.

§ 2. The second kind of creatures vsed for diuination, are the *intralls of beasts*, of which mention is made, Ezek. 21. 21. where Nabuchadnezzar beeing to make warre both with the Iewes and the Ammonites, and doubting in the way which enterprise to vndertake first, he offers a sacrifice to the Idol-gods, and opening the bellie of the sacrifice, lookes vpon the liuer, and by the signes therein found, he iudgeth what should be the issue of the warre. Which thing Nabuchadnezzar did according to the vsuall practise of the Heathen, who when they were to make warre, or to attempt any busines of importance, were wont to offer sacrifice to their gods, and to prie into the intralls of the beast sacrificed; for example, the heart, stomake, splene, kidneyes, but specially the liuer, and by certaine signes appearing in those parts, the deuill was wont to reueale vnto them, what should be the successe of their affaires they had in hand. It were easie to exemplifie both these sorts of Diuination by sundrie particulars out of Heathen writers, but seeing the Scripture hath manifested that there are such, and experience shews the same, I will forbear that labour, and proceede.

But here it is demaied, why both these kinds of Diuination should be condēned in scripture, considering they had great applause among the heathen? I answer, because the flying of birds, & the disposition of the inward parts of creatures, are no true signs either of good or bad successe. For that which is a true signe of a future euent, must haue the vertue and power whereby it signifieth, from God himselfe, either by creation in the beginning, or by his speciall ordinance and appointment afterward. Now it cannot be shewed, that God in the creation infused any such vertue into the natures and motions of these creatures, whereby they might signifie such things; neither is there any apparent testimonie in the whole booke of the Scriptures, whereby it may bee proued, that since the creation, they were appointed by God, to serue such vses and ends. And therefore howsoeuer they were esteemed of the Heathen, yet the word of God hath iustly censured them, as no true and proper causes of Diuination, sanctified by God, but meere diabolicall.

It is alleadged, that Ioseph diuined by his cuppe, as may appeare both by his stewards speech, as also by his owne, Gen. 44. 5. & 45. & yet that cup receiued no power from God, either the one way or the other, to be a cause or meane of Diuination.

The answer aunciently and commonly made is this, that Iosephs steward spake not as the thing was indeed, but as the common receiued opinion was among the Egyptians, who esteemed Ioseph to be a man of great skill and wisdom, able by sundrie meanes to diuine and prophesie. To this I adde a second answer, that the

A steward spake not as he thought, but his purpose was in those words, to conceale the knowledge of Ioseph his master from his brethren, that thereby they might not discern who he was, but take him to be an Egyptian. Thirdly, the words may not vnsafely admit this interpretation, as if the steward had said, Know yet not that this cuppe which I find in the sackes mouth of your yongest brother, is that whereby my master will easily proue what manner of men you are? this answer is also auncient, and may well be receiued.

It is further objected, that our Sauour Christ by his speech vnto the Pharisees seemeth to approve of Diuining by creatures, as by winds, and by clouds; *When you see a cloud (saith hee) rising out of the West, straight way you say, a shoure commeth, and so it is: and when you see the South wind blow, ye say, that it will be boate, and it commeth so passe,* Luk. 12. 54. 55.

B *Ans.* There be some kinds of predictions that are and may be lawfully vsed, because they are naturall, of which sort are those that are made by Physicians, Mariners, and husbandmen, touching the particular alterations and dispositions of the weather; and these beeing agreeable to that order which God hath set in nature from the beginning; by them a man may probably gather the state of the weather, whether it will be faire or foule; and of these naturall signes our Sauour Christ speaketh, not of diabolicall, which haue no warrant, either from the common course of nature created, or by any speciall appoyntment from God. So that whatsoeuer can be said in their defence, this yet remaineth certaine, that the flying and noise of birds, and the state of the intralls of beasts, are no true signes ordained by God, but inuented by the deuill and his instruments, and therefore all diuination by them is iustly condemned, as wicked and deuillish.

C D Whence it appeareth, what iudgement may be giuen of those common signes of Diuination, which are obserued in the world, specially of the more ignorant sort. For example: A man finds a piece of yron, he presently conceiueth a prediction of some good lucke vnto himselfe that day. If he light on a piece of siluer, then he stands contrarily affected, imagining some euill will befall him. Againe, when a man is taking his iourney, if a hare crosse him in the way, all is not well; his iourney shall not be prosperous, it presageth some mischiefe towards him. Let his eares tingle or burne, he is perswaded he hath enemies abroad, and that some man either then doth, or presently will speake ill of him. If the salt fall towards a man at the table, it portendeth (in common conceit) some ill newes. When a rauen stands vpon some high place, looke what way he turnes himselfe and cries, thence, as some thinke, shall shortly come a dead corps; albeit this sometime may be true by reason of the sharpe sense of smelling in the raven. These & sundrie other of the like sort, are

meerely superstitious. For the truth is, they haue no vertue in themselves to foreshew any thing that is to come, either in nature, or by Gods ordinance. Therefore whatsoever diuination is made by them, must needs be fetched from Satanicall illusion. And though we cannot say they be soothsayings, or tearme the vsers & fauourers of them Soothsayers, yet we may safely referre them to this kind of diuining, being such as no Christian may warrantably vse, though some of them be not so grosse and palpable, as those that are condemned in the Scriptures.

§ 3. The third kind of creatures vsed to diuine by, are the starres. Diuination by starres, is commonly called *Iudiciall Astrologie*; of which we may reade, Deu. 18. 10. 11. where the holy Ghost doth of purpose reckon vp all those kinds of deuillish arts, whereby men haue dealings & society with Satan, either in *diuining* or *practising*: among which, this is the second.

The word there vsed *may carrie a double sense. For it signifieth either him that obserueth times, vnder which acception *Astrologie* is comprehended, or him that obserueth the cloudes. And howsoever the best learned Interpreters doe dissent about the notation of it, yet all agree in this, that this profession of Diuining by the starres, is there condemned: and that it is to be numbred among the rest expressed in the prohibition, may further appeare by other places of Scripture, as in Isay 47. 13. 14. where the Lord threatneth the same iudgements against Diuiners by the starres, that he doth against Soothsayers and Magicians. Again, in Dan. 2. 2. Inchanters, Astrologians, and Sorcerers are ioyned together, as beeing all sent for about the same busines, viz. to expound the Kings dreame. Now if the Lord himselfe haue allotted the same punishmēt to the Astrologer, which he hath to the Soothsayer and Magician, & account the all one; it is manifest, that Diuining by the starres, ought to be held as a superstitious kind of Diuination.

Here, if it bee thought straunge, that predictions by so excellent creatures as the starres be, should carie both the name and nature of diabolically practises, which can be done by none but such as are in league with Satan:

I answer, The reasons hereof are these:

First, it must be considered, that the drift and scope of this art, is to foretell the particular euents of things contingent, as the alteration of the states of kingdoms, the deaths of Princes, good or badde successe of mens particular affaires, from the houre of their birth, to the day of their death. And from this all men may iudge, what the art it selfe is. For the foretelling of things to come, which in their owne nature are contingent, and in regard of vs casuall (I say not in regard of God, to whom all things are certainly knowne) is a propertie peculiar to God alone, and not within the the power of any creature, man, or Angel. A

point that is plainly taught by the Prophet Esai, from the 4. chap. of his prophesie, to the 48. The scope whereof is to prooue, that it is a prerogative appropriated to the Deitie, and not communicable to the creature, to foreshew the euent of things to come, which in our vnderstanding and reach, may either be, or not be; and which when they are, may be thus or otherwise. It remaines therefore, that Diuinations of this kind, taking from God his right, and robbing him of his honour, are iustly censured of impietie, and are in themselves wicked and abominable.

It is alleadged, that starres in the heauens, are the causes of many things happening in the world, and therefore to practise by them in this manner, deserueth no such imputation.

Ans. It cannot be denied that they are causes of some things, but I demand, what causes? not particular of particular euents; but generall and common, that worke alike vpon all things: and no man can diuine of a particular euent, by a generall cause, vnlesse he also know the particular causes subordinate to the generall, and the particular dispositions and operations of them. For example, let twentie or thirtie egges of sundry kinds of birds be taken, and set vnder one and the same henne to be hatched; it is not possible for any man, onely vpon the bare consideration of the heat of the hen, which is the general cause of hatching the egges, to set downe certainly what kinde of bird each egge will bring forth, vnlesse he know what the egges were particularly. For a generall and common cause, doth not immediately produce a particular effect, but onely mooueth and helpeth the particular, immediate, and subordinate causes. Therefore the heat of the hen doth not make one egge to send forth a henne-chicken, another egge a ducke, a third a swane, &c. but onely helpeth it forward by sitting and crouching vpon them. In like manner the starres are generall causes of naturall things, as the heat of the hen is of the hatching of the egges, and by them no man can rightly define of particular euents, and therefore Diuination by the starres, whereby are foretold particular contingent euents, in kingdoms, families, or particular persons, is but a forged skil, that hath no ground in nature fro the vertue of the starres, for any such purpose.

A second reason may be this; All the rules & precepts of *Astrologie*, set down by the most learned among the Chaldeans, Egyptians, & other Astrologers, are nothing els but meere dotages and fictions of the braine of man: for the rules and conclusions of al good and lawfull arts, haue their ground in experience, and are framed by obseruation, whereupon they are called *Axiomes*, or *positions of arte*; so generally and vndoubtedly true, that they can not deceiue: but these rules are of a contrarie nature, hauing no foundation in experience at all; for if they had, this must needs follow, that the position of the heauens, and the course of all the starres,

must

must needs continue one and the same; for the principles of art ought to be immutable: but neither the position of the heavens, nor the course of all the starres, is alway one and the same. Again, he that would make sound rules of art by obseruation, must knowe the particular estate of all things he obserueth: But no man knoweth the particular estate of all the starres, and consequently none can gather sound rules of art by them. Thirdly, no man knoweth or seeth all the starres, and though they might be all discerned, yet the particular vertues of those which are seene, cannot be knowne, because their influences in the aire, and vpon the earth, are confused; and therefore by obseruation of them, no rules can be made, whereby to iudge of particular euents to come that be cōtingent. But experience teacheth (may some say) that if a man addicted to this course shall practise the rules of Astrologie, it will fall out that the most things he foretellet shall be true, and come to passe accordingly: which beeing verified in experience, it should seeme, that these principles are not vncertain: for how is it possible that vpon false grounds, should proceede true predictions? To this obiection, learned Diuines haue framed answer thus. That in this there is a secret Magicke at the least, if not an open league with Satan. For looke what is wanting to the effect of the starres, the deuill maketh supply of it by his owne knowledge in things that are to come to passe. And this is the iudgement of them that haue knowne this art; which was also receiued for true in the dayes of the Apostles.

The third reason. The man that repaireth to the Astrologian vpon the particular case for his helpe and counsell, must beleue that he can and will doe for him; otherwise if he come doubting of his abilitie, or in way of tempting him, he cannot helpe him. Now in common vnderstanding, if the diuiner bring the thing to passe, here must needs be more then Art. For he that is a master of a lawfull art, can worke by his rules, whether a man beleue that he can or no; yea though all the men in the world should doubt, his rules would be effectuell. The art therefore it selfe is the olde superstitious art of the Chaldeans, which they beeing Idolaters, first fetched from the deuill, and his Oracles: yea, the practise thereof is nothing but superstitious forcerie, and the vndertakers no better then Sorcerers. If any man doubt hereof, their writings are sufficient testimonies, and they themselves auouch it. For it is a rule & maxime among the in all kind of Sorcerie, that the learner must come credulous, and not doubting, or to tempe; otherwise no answer can be giuen.

But notwithstanding all these reasons alledged for the prooffe of this point, sundry things are opposed to the contrary.

For first, it is said that the Sunne, Moone, and starres were created for signes, Gen. 1. 14. and therefore that it is lawfull to diuine by

A them, seeing that in so doing, we doe but vse them to the ende for which God made them.

Ans. The reason is of no force. The starres indeede by this ordinance doe serue for signes, but of what? not of all things, but (as the text plainly sheweth) of daies, weekes, moneths, and yeares; yea, of the seasons of the yeare; as of Spring, Summer, Autumne, and Winter; yea further, of the alterations of the weather in generall: but all this maketh nothing to ratifie Diuination of particular euents in things contingent, which are to fall out in the state of kingdomes, families, and persons: for they are not causes, but *Signes*, and that of some generall things onely, not of particular.

B Again, it is said, that Moses and Daniel, two famous Prophets, are commended for their skill in this art: for of Moses it is said, *Act. 7. 22. that he was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians*; and Daniel in *all the wisdom of the Chaldeans*, Dan. 1. 17. 20. and we know that the Egyptians and Chaldeans were the masters of Diuination, and eminent aboue all others in matters of Astrologie.

Ans. It cannot be prooued out of those places, that Moses or Daniel were trained vp in this art: and though it should be granted they were, yet it followes not, that they were practisers of it, at least continually. For albeit, beeing children and of tender yeares in the courts of Pharaoh and Nebuchadnetzar, they had been trained vp by their gouernours in this knowledge, it may not thence be concluded, that they finally submitted themselves to the practise thereof; considering that a man may learne that when he is young, which afterward vpon better iudgement and consideration, he may vtterly disclaime. And so we are to thinke of them, that after God had called them, they did for euer lay aside all such wicked and deuillish practises, forbidden by God, and yet in vse among the Egyptians and Chaldeans.

C Thirdly, it is objected; the starres are admirable creatures of God, and the causes of many strange effects in the aire, in the waters; and vpon the earth also, in the bodies of men and beasts: it may seeme therefore not vnlawfull to diuine by them.

D *Ans.* We grant that the Starres, and especially the Sunne and Moone, haue great vertue and force vpon the creatures that are belowe; partly by their light, and partly by their heat; but hence it will not followe, that they are, or may be lawfully vsed for Diuination: for whereas it hath beene shewed, that the grounds of all good arts are gathered by obseruation and experience, it is not possible for any man, truly, and certainly to obserue all particular euents brought forth by the starres, whereupon he might ground his rules. And for prooffe hereto; Suppose there were a heap of all kinds of herbs growing vpon the earth gathered together, which should be all strained into one vessell, and the liquour brought to the most skillfull

Physician that is, or euer was; can we think him able by tasting or smelling thereof, to distinguish the vertues of the hearbs, & to say which is which? To doe this when all are seuered each from other, is a hard matter, yet possible, considering they haue their seuerall natures and operations; but in this confused mixture to discern the seueralls, is a thing passing the skill of man.

The like may be said of the particular vertue of every starre: for they all haue their operation in the bodies of men, and other creatures; but their vertues being all mixed together in the subject whereon they work, can no more be knowne distinctly, then the vertues of a masse of hearbs of infinite sorts beaten together. For this is an vndoubted truth in nature: that the vertues of Celestiall bodies in their operations, are mingled with the qualities of the elements in the inferiour bodies, and the vertues of them all doe so concur, that neither the heate or light of the starres, nor the vertue of the elements, can be seuered one from another. And therefore though there be notable vertue in the starres, yet in regard of the mixture thereof in their operation, no man is able to say by obseruation, that this is the vertue of this starre, and this of that. The seauen planets being more notable, then the other lights of the heauen, specially the Sunne and Moone, haue their operations and effects plainely and perfectly knowne; as for the other, there was neuer any man that could either feele their heate, or certainly determine of any thing by them.

There being then some starres, whose vertues are vnkowne, how can their operations and effects be discerned in particular? Therefore no rules can be made by obseruation of the vertues of the starres in their operations, whereupon we may foretel particular euents of things contingent, either concerning mens persons, families, or kingdomes.

A fourth reason. All starres haue their worke in the qualities of heate, light, colde, moisture, and drinesse: as for the secret influences which men dreame of, coming from them besides the said qualities, they are but forged fancies. The Scripture neuer mentioneth any such, neither can it be prooued that the Sunne hath any efficacie vpon inferiour bodies, but by light and heate, which because they are mixt with other qualities, they afford no matter of prediction touching particular euents. For what though the celestiall bodies doe cause in the terrestriall, heate and colde, drought and moisture? doth it therefore followe, that these effects doe declare before hand the constitution of mans bodie? the disposition of mens mindes? the affections of mens hearts? or finally, what successe they shall haue in their affaires, touching wealth, honour, and religion? Hence I conclude, that diuining by them in this sort, is mere superstition, and a kinde of Sorcerie: for which cause in Scripture Astrologians are iustly numbred a-

mong Sorcerers.

Now that which hath beene saide touching this point, may serue for speciall vse.

And first, it giues a caueat to all Students, that they haue care to spend their time and wits better, then in the studie of Iudiciall Astrologie; and rather imploy themselves in the searching out of such things, as may most serue for the glory of God, and the good of his Church. It is the subtiltie of Satan to drawe men into such meditations, and to make this studie so pleasant, that it can hardly be left, when it is once begun: but let them take heede betime. For assuredly these vaine and superstitious practises, are not the builders and furtherers, but the hinderers and destroyers of religion, and the feare of God.

Againe, this must admonish them which suffer any losses, not to seeke for helpe or remedie at the hands of Astrologers, commonly called *Figure-casters*: for their directions in the recouerie of things lost or stollen, commeth not by the helpe of any lawfull art, but from the worke of the deuill, reuealing the same vnto them. And better it were to loose a thing finally, and by faith to expect till God make supply another way; then in this manner to recouer it againe: yea, the curse of God hangeth over the head of him, that to helpe himselfe vseth diabolicall meanes. For put the case a thing lost of great value, be againe restored by the helpe of Satan; yet God in his iustice, for the vse of these vnlawfull meanes, may take from the consulter twise as much; or at the least his grace, and so giue him vp to a reprobate sense, to beleeue the deuill to his vtter perdition.

Thirdly, it serueth to admonish vs of some other vanities that accompany Astrologie; especially of two.

The first, is the *obseruation of the signe* in mans bodie wherein not onely the ignorant sort, but men of knowledge doe farre overshoot themselves, superstitiously holding, that the signe is specially to be marked. An opinion in it selfe fantasticall and vaine, not grounded in nature, but borrowed from Astrologie. For the Astrologians for better expressing and establishing thereof, haue deuised newe spheres in the heauens, more then indeede there be, to wit, the ninth and the tenth; and in the tenth, commonly called the *first moueable*, haue placed an imaginarie sphere, which they teame the *Zodiacke*, and in the *Zodiacke* twelue signes, *Aries*, *Taurus*, *Geminus*, and the rest, which they imagine to haue power ouer the twelue parts of mans bodie; as *Aries*, the head and face, *Taurus* necke and throat, &c. But these are onely twelue imaginarie signes: for in the heauens there is no such matter as a ramme, a bull, &c. And howe can it stand with reason, that in a firmament faigned by Poets and Philosophers, a forged signe, which indeede is nothing, should haue any power or operation in the bodies of men?

Primum mobile.

Againe,

Againe, the very order of the gouernment of these signes in mans bodie, is fond and without shewe of reason. For according to this plat-forme, when the Moone commeth into the first signe, *Aries*, she ruleth in the head; and when she commeth into the second signe, *Taurus*, in the necke; and so descends downe from part to part, in some part ruling two, in some three daies, &c. Where obserue, that the Moone is made then to rule in the cold and moist parts, when she is in hoate and drie signes: when as in reason, a more consonant order were this; that when the Moone were in hoate and drie signes, as *Aries*, *Leo*, and *Sagittarius*, shee should rule in hoate and drie parts of the bodie; and when she is in cold and moist signes, she should rule in the colde and moist parts of the bodie; and so still gouerne those parts, which in temperature come nearest to the nature of the signes wherein the Moone is.

Besides this, some learned Physitians haue vpon experience confessed, that the obseruation of the signe, is nothing materiall, and that there is no danger in it, for gelding of cattell, or letting of blood. Indeepe it preuailes oftentimes by an olde conceit and strong imagination, of some vnlettered persons, who thinke it to be of force and efficacie for restoring and curing; and yet the vanitie of this conceit, appeares in the common practise of men, who commonly vpon *S. Stephens* day vse to let blood, be the signe where it will; though it be in the place where the veine is opened. But the truth is, the signe in it owne nature, is neither way vnaileable, beeing but a fancie, grounded vpon supposed premisses, and therefore ought to be rejected, as a meere vanitie.

The second thing belonging to Astrologie, which ought to be eschewed, is the choice and obseruation of daies. Curious diuiners doe set apart certaine daies, whereof some are (as they say) lucky, some vnlucky. And these they appoint to be obserued for the beginning of ordinarie works and busineses; as to take a iourney, to beginne to lay the foundation of a building, to plant a garden, to weane a child, to put on new apparell, to sit into a new house, to trafficke into other countries, to goe about a suit to a Prince, or some great man, to hunt and vse exercises, to pare the nailes, to cut the haire, in a word to attempt any thing in purpose or action, which is not done every day. The effect and force of these daies, is not grounded either in art or in nature, but onely in superstitious conceit and diabolicall confidence, vpon a wicked custome, borrowed from the practise of diuiners; and the danger of such confident conceits is this; that the deuill by them takes the vantage of fantastick persons, and brings them farther into league and acquaintance with himselfe, vnlesse they leaue them. And all such persons as make difference of daies for this or that purpose, are in expresse words plainly condemned, Deut. 18. 10. 11.

A 54. The fourth kind of Diuination by true meanes, is the prediction of things to come by dreames.

In the olde Testament we reade that Sorcerers and false Prophets vsed to foretell strange euents, by reuelations which they had in their dreames. Such diuiners were among the Iewes; and for that cause the people of God were expressly forbidden to hearken vnto *Dreamers of Dreames*, Deut. 18. 3. And the Lord himselfe by the Prophet Ieremie, taxeth the false Prophets, who broached false doctrine in his name by this deuillish meanes, saying, *I haue dreamed, I haue dreamed*, Ierem. 23. 25.

B Yet here it is to be remembred, that foretelling of future things by dreames, is not simply to be condemned, but onely in part. For of dreames there be three sorts, *Diuine*, *Naturall*, and *Diabolicall*. *Diuine*, are those which come from God. *Naturall* which proceed from a mans owne nature, and arise from the qualitie and constitution of the bodie: *Diabolicall*, which are caused by the suggestion of the deuill.

C Touching *Diuine dreames*: that there are, or at least haue beene such, it is euident. For these be the words of God, Num. 12. 6. *If there be a Prophet of the Lord among you, I will be knowne vnto him by a vision, and will speak vnto him by a dreame.* And Iob saith, that *God speaketh in dreames and visions of the night, when sleepe falleth vpon men, and they sleepe vpon their beds*, Iob. 33. 15. Now these diuine dreames were caused in men, either immediately by God himselfe, as the former places shew; or by means of some good Angell. In this latter kind was *Ioseph* often admonished in dreames what to doe, by the ministerie of an Angell; as *Matth.* 1. 20. and chap. 2. 13. 19. and diuining by such dreames, is not condemned for by them the most worthe Prophets of God haue reuealed Gods will in many things to his Church. Thus *Ioseph* by dreame had notice giuen him of his owne aduancement, Gen. 37. 7. 9. and by Pharaohs dreames which were sent from God, he also foretolde the state of the kingdome of Egypt, touching prouision for seauen yeares dearth, Gen. 41. 25. By the same meanes the Prophet Daniel prophesied of the flourishing and fading of the chiefe Monarchies of the world, from his time to the coming Christ, Dan. 9. &c. These therefore beeing one of the extraordinary means, whereby God hath manifested his will vnto man in times past, more or lesse: diuination by them is not to be censured as vnlawfull, but rather to be honoured and esteemed, as the ordinance of God.

D For the second sort which be *Naturall*, arising either from the thoughts of the minde, or the affections of the heart, or the constitution of the bodie: as they are ordinarie in all men, in some more, in some lesse: so they vary according to the diuersitie of mens thoughts, affections, and constitutions: and by them a man may probably

bably coniecture of sundry things concerning the state and disposition, partly of his bodie, and partly of his minde.

As first he may gesse in likelihood, what is his constitution, as the learned in all ages doe constantly auouch. For when his minde in dreaming runnes vpon warres, and contentions, fire, and such like, it argueth his complexion is cholericke. When he dreames of waters and inundations, it betokeneth abundance of phlegme. When his phantasie conceiueth heauie and dolefull things, full of griefe, feare, and horror, it bewraiethe a melancholike constitution. When his dreames be ioyfull and pleasant, as of mirth, pastimes, and delightfull newes; his complexion is iudged to be sanguine.

Againe, by naturall dreames a man may gesse at the corruption of his owne heart: and knowe to what sinnes he is most naturally inclined. For looke what men doe ordinarily in the day time conceiue and imagine in their corrupt hearts, of the same, for the most part, they doe corruptly dreame in the night. And this is the rather to be obserued, because though the wicked man shut his eies, and stop his eares, and harden his heart, and will not take notice of his enormities by the light of the Law; yet euen by his owne dreames in the night, his wickednesse shall be in part discovered, and his conscience thereby conuincd, and he himselfe left in the ende inexcusable before God. Now albeit a man may probably coniecture of the premisses by naturall dreames; yet no Diuination of things to come, whether publike or priuate, good or bad, can be made by them either concerning persons, families, or kingdoms. Therefore the common obseruations of dreams in the world, whereby men imagine things that are to come to passe, and accordingly foretell them by those meanes, are vaine and superstitious, and iustly so condemned in the places before named, Deut. 13. Ier. 23.

Concerning the third kinde of dreames, which are caused by the deuill; It hath beene granted in all ages for a truth, that Satan can frame dreames in the braine of man, and by them reueale his diuinations. And it is plainly manifested by the continuall obseruation of the Gentiles before the coming of Christ. For when Oracles, (that is, answers from the Deuill) were in force, men that vsed to consult with them, and desired to be resolved in matters of doubt, were to lay them downe and sleepe besides the altar of Apollo, where they had offered their gift, and sleeping they receiued in a dreame the answer for which they came; and this dreame was framed in the braine of him that slept, by the deuill, and in it the answer was deliuered by him speaking at or in the Oracle. So likewise in the Primitiue Church, since the coming of Christ, though Oracles then ceased, which were the greatest and strongest delusions that euer Satan had; yet he hath by dreames and visions wrought in

A the heads of many men most strange and curious conceits for the raising vp of heresies, to the great disturbance of the peace of the Church. For we reade in Ecclesiasticall stories, that the Maniches had their damnable opinions first inspired into them, and then confirmed by dreames. And in this age the first authors of the sect of the Anabaptists, had their curious conceits of reuelation, partly in dreames, partly in visions. Likewise the Familie of loue haue their reuelations in dreames. For he that desires to become one of that sect, must ascende thereunto by degrees, before he can come to perfection to be an elder illuminate or a man deified; to which estate when he is once come, he hath for his confirmation strong illusions, both waking and sleeping in visions & dreames. B Histories of later times, and wofull experience sheweth this to be true, the deuill preuailing so strongly, that many haue fallen away by this meanes, being corrupted by a doctrine meereley carnall, howsoeuer maintained with great pretense of holinesse. Againe, as the good Angels may cause diuine dreames from God, and therein reueale vnto men his wil and pleasure concerning things to come; so no doubt the euill spirits may cause in men diabolicall dreames, and therein reueile vnto them many strange things; which they by meanes vknown to men, may foresee and knowe. By all which it is euident, that there are and may be as well diabolicall dreames as diuine dreames. C

The conclusion then is this: That as diuining by the second sort is superstitious, having no ground from Gods word; so foretelling by this third sort is flat Witchcraft, directly condemned in the places asorenamed, where men are forbidden to prophetic by them, or to regard them.

Yet forasmuch as dreames be of sundrie kinds, as hath beene said, it shall not be amisse to set downe some *notes of difference* betweene them, whereby they may be knowne and distinguished each from other. Which point indeede hath long agoe been handled in the Primitiue Church, but hardly determined. For the learned of that age haue auouched it a very hard matter, considering that the deuill in these, as well as in other things, can transforme himselfe into an Angel of light. But howsoeuer the case be hard, and the deuill politicke, yet by light of direction from the word of God, there may some true differences be set downe betweene them; as namely these:

D First of all; diuine dreames haue alwaies had their preeminence aboue others, that generally they haue concerned the weightiest matters in the world; as the coming and exhibiting of the Messias, the changes and alterations of Kingdomes, the reuealing of Antichrist, and the state of the Church of God. And this may plainly appeare by those which Ioseph expounded vnto Pharaos, and Daniel vnto the Kings of Babel and Persia. But in the other sort it is otherwise.

therwise. For if there be any thing represented more then ordinarie in those that be naturall, it proceedeth meerely from fancy and imagination. And as for diabolicall they are not of so weightie matters, nor so hard to foretell. For though the Deuill haue great power and skill, yet it is about his reach to determine of such things as these are, or to foretell them without helpe from God.

Secondly, diuine dreames be alwaies either plaine and manifest, or if they be obscure yet they haue a most euident interpretation annexed vnto them. Of the plainer sort, were the dreames of Ioseph the husband of Marie. Mar. 1. Of the other sort were Pharaohs very darke and hidden, but God raised vp Ioseph to giue them an easie interpretation vpon the instant. Gen. 41. Nebuchadnetsars dreames were full of obscuritie, and many matters were contained in them, so as his spirit was troubled, and he forgot them; but God stirred vp Daniel and reuealed to him the secret, so as he remembered it to the King, and declared the true meaning thereof, Dan. 2. 1, 28. 36. Lastly, Daniels dreames of the foure beasts, &c. were of like difficultie, but the Angell Gabriel was presently sent to make him vnderstand them, Dan. 8. 16. Now those that are caused by the Deuill, as they be obscure and intricate, so the interpretation of them is ambiguous and vncertaine, because he himselfe cannot infallibly determine how things shall come to passe, and thereupon is constrained to giue doubtfull answers by dreames. And such were not onely the ancient Oracles among the heathen, where he gaue the resolution, but the moderne Prophecies giuen by him to some of his instruments in the later time.

Thirdly, the dreame that comes from God, is alwaies agreeable to his reuealed will, and representeth nothing contrary to the same, in whole or in part: whereas those that proceede from nature, doe fauour of nature, and bee agreeable to mans corruption, which is repugnant vnto Gods will. And those that are suggested by Satan, are of the same nature; the generall scope whereof is to crosse the will of God, and to withdrawe the heart from obedience thereunto.

Fourthly, diuine dreames ayme at this end, to further religion and pietie, and to maintaine true doctrine: but the deuill, an enemy to God, worketh in his dreames the subuersion of true religion, and the worship of God, that in the roome thereof he may set vp Idolatrie and superstition. For so much we learne, Deut. 13. where the false Prophet brings his dreame, and vtters it, yea and confirmeth it by a wonder; but marke his ende: It was to drawe men to Apostacie; *Let vs (saith he) goe after other Gods, which thou hast not knowne, and let vs serue them,* vers. 2. Answerable to which, was the practise of the false prophets afterwards, who caused the people to erre by their lies and flatter-

A ries. Ier. 23. 32.

To conclude this point, it must be here remembered, that howsoeuer there are and haue beene distinct sorts of dreames, yet those which are from God, were onely in ordinarie vse in the olde Testament, and in the Church of the Newe are ceased, and take not place ordinarily. Whereas therefore men in their sleepe haue dreames, they must take them commonly to be naturall, and withall knowe that they may be diabolicall, or mixt partly of the one kinde, and partly of the other. And howsoeuer there may be some vse of the naturall, as hath bene said, yet commonly they are not to be regarded. And for the other which are from Satan, or mixt; they are not to be receiued, beleued, or made meanes whereby to foretell things to come, lest by this vse of them, we growe into familiaritie with the deuill, and before God be guilty of the sinne of Witchcraft.

B § 5. The fift and last kind of Diuination by true meanes, is by *Lots*, when men take vpon them to search out fortune (as they vse to speak) that is, good or bad successe in any businesse, by casting of Lots, whether it be by casting a die, or opening of a booke, or any such casuall meanes. I mention this the rather, because among the ignorant and superstitious sort, such practises are common and in great account: the Lot is an ordinance of God, appointed for speciall ends and purposes, but when it is thus applyed, it ceaseth to be lawfull, because it is abused to other ends then God by his word and ordinance hath allowed.

C That we may the better know the abuse of a Lot in this kind, we must remember there be three sorts of Lots: the Ciuill, the Sporting, and the Diuining Lot.

The ciuill vse of Lots, is when they be vsed for the ending of controuersies; the diuiding of lands and heritages: the disposition of offices amongst many that are equally fit, the trying of the right in doubtfull things, or lastly, the discoverie of a malefactor hid amongst many suspected. By this vse of the Lot was Saul chosen to be king ouer Israel, 1. Sam. 10. 21. the scape-goate separated from that which was to be sacrificed, Leuit. 16. 8. the land of Canaan diuided among the children of Israel, Ios. 14. 2. &c. the trespass of Achan found out, Iosh. 7. 15. and Matthias chosen to be one of the twelue, Act. 1. 26. and of this Lot Salomon saith, Pro. 18. 18. *The Lot causeth contentions to cease, and maketh partitions among the mightie.* Hereupon the ciuill vse of Lots hath his warrant in Gods word, so it be lawfully vsed in case of necessitie, with inuocation of the name of God, and with expectation of the event from God, by whose hand and immediate providence it is disposed. For the Lot (saith Salomon) is cast into the lappe, but the whole disposition thereof is from the Lord, Prou. 16. 33.

D The Sporting Lot is that which is common-

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ly vsed for some vaine and vnnecessarie ende; as to set vp bank-rupts, or such like. This hath no warrant in the word of God whereupon men should vse it, and therefore is no better then an abuse of Gods ordinance, to speake no more of it.

Now the diuining Lot performed by the opening of a booke, or the casting of a die, or such like, thereby to declare good or bad successe, cannot be done without confederacie with Satan either explicite, or implicite. For the plaine cast of a die, or the opening of a booke without beleeuing, can doe nothing for the discovering of future contingents. And what is there in the nature of these actions to produce such effects? or where, or when did God giue this vertue to them certainly to determine of things hidden from man, and knowne onely to himselfe? Diuination therefore by them is to be holden as a practise, not onely sauouring of superstition, but proceeding from the arte of Witchcraft and Sorcerie.

And thus much of Diuination by meanes of the creatures; and the seuerall kinds thereof.

Secl. III.

The second kind of Diuination, is by counterfeits and forged meanes, which are none of the creatures of God: whereof one kinde onely is mentioned in Scripture, viz. when Satan is consulted with in the shape of a dead man. This is commonly called *Necromancie*, or the *blacke art*, because the deuill beeing sought vnto by Witches, appeares vnto them in the likenesse of a dead bodie. And it is expressly forbidden, Deut. 18 11. yea condemned by the Prophet Esay, 8. 19, 20. who saith in plaine termes, that Gods people ought not to goe from the liuing to the dead, but to the Lawe and to the testimony. A memorable example hereof is recorded in 1. Sam. 28. the obseruation whereof will discouer vnto vs the chiefe points of Necromancie. There Saul about to encounter the Philistims, beeing forsaken of God, who refused to answer him, either by dreames, or by Vrim, or by the Prophets, inquired for one that had a familiar spirit: and hearing of the Pythonesse at Endor, went vnto her by night, & caused her to raise vp Samuel, to tell him the issue of the warre. Now the Witch at his request raised vp the Deuill, with whome shee was confederate, in Samuels likenesse; who gaue him answer, concerning his owne ouerthrowe, and the death of his sounes. Which example declareth plainly, that there is a kinde of diuination, whereby Witches and Sorcerers reueale strange things, by meanes of the deuill appearing vnto them in the shapes or shadowes of the dead.

Touching the truth of this example, two Questions may be mooued.

The first is, Whether that which appeared was true Samuel or not? Some say it was Samuel indeede; others (who holde that there are no

A Witches) denie that it was either Samuel, or the deuill; and assume it to be some other counterfeite assuming in Samuels attire to deceiue Saul: both which opinions are false, and here to be confuted.

And first, that their opinion which say that true Samuel appeared vnto Saul, is a flat vnto I prooue by these reasons.

I. Before this time, God had withdrawne his spirit from Saul, as himselfe confesseth, and denied to answer him any more by ordinarie meanes, in such sort as before he had done. Hereupon I gather, that it was not probable, that God would now vouchsafe him the fauour to suffer Samuel to come vnto him extraordinarily, and tell him what should be the ende of his warre with the Philistims: and to this purpose it is affirmed twise in that chapter, that God had taken his good spirit from Saul.

II. The soules of the faithfull departed, are in the hands of God, and doe rest in glory with himselfe, and their bodies are in the earth, and there rest in peace. So saith the voice from heauen, Revel. 14. 13. *Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord: for they rest from their labours, and their works*, that is, the reward of their works, follow them immediately, or at the beeles, as the word signifieth. Now suppose the Deuill had power ouer Samuels bodie, yet to make true Samuel, he must haue his soule also. But it is not in the power of the Deuill, to bring againe the soules that are in heauen vnto their bodies, and so to cause them to appeare vnto men vpon earth, and to speake vnto them. The Deuills kingdome is in hell, and in the hearts of wicked men on earth; yea whiles the children of God are in this world, he vsurpeth some authoritie ouer them, by meanes of their owne corruption: But heauen is the kingdome of God and his Saints, where Satan hath nothing to doe, considering that there is no flesh or corruption, to make him entrance or yeeld him intertainment. Neither can it be prooued by Scripture, that the Deuill can disturbe either the bodies or soules of them that die in the Lord: and therefore the Witch with all her power & skill, could not bring Samuels rotten bodie (for so no doubt it was now) and soule together.

III. This shape which appeared suffered Saul to adore and worship it, whereas the true Samuel would neuer haue receiued adoration from Saul the King, though it had beene in ciuill manner onely. Whome then did Saul adore? *Ans.* The Deuill himselfe, who beeing an enemy to the glorie of God, was content to take to himselfe that honour, which a King in dutie is to performe to God himselfe.

IV. If it had beene true Samuel, he would certainly haue reprooued Saul for seeking help at Witches, contrary to Gods commandement, and that doctrine which he had taught him from God in his life time. But this counterfeite reprooued him not, and therefore it is not like to be the true Prophet of God, but Satan him-

selfe,

helfe, framing by his art and skill the person and shape of Samuel.

But it is alledged to the contrarie, that Samuel after his sleep, prophesied of the death of Saul, Ecclesiastic. 45. v. 20. *After his sleepe also he told of the Kings death, &c.* *Ans.* That booke penned by Iesus the sonne of Sirach is a very worthe description of Christian Ethicks, containing more excellent precepts for manners, then all the writings of heathen Philosophers or other men. But yet it is not scripture, neither did the Church ever hold and receiue it as Canonically; yea, the author himselfe insinuateth so much in the beginning thereof, for in the preface he disableth himselfe to interpret hard things, and after a sort craues pardon for his weaknes, which is not the manner of the men of God, that were penmen of Scripture. For they were so guided by Gods spirit in their proceedings, that nothing could be hard vnto them. This priuiledge no ordinarie man hath assurance of; & therefore this author writing vpon his owne priuate motion, was subiect to error, and no doubt this speech of his, being contrarie to that which is recorded in the Canonically Scriptures, is a flat vntruth.

Secondly, it is objected, that the Scripture calleth him Samuel, that appeared vnto Saul. *Ans.* The Scripture doth often speake of things, not as they are in themselves, but as they seeme to vs. So it is affirmed, Gen. 1. 16. that God made two great lights, the Sunne and the Moone; whereas the moone is lesser then many starres, yet because in regard of her nearnesse to the earth, shee seemeth to vs greater then the rest, therefore shee is called a *great light*. In like manner Idols in the Scripture are called Gods, not that they are so indeed; (for an Idoll is nothing, 1. Cor. 8. 4.) but because some men doe so conceiue of them in their mindes. In a word; the Scripture oftentimes doth abase it selfe to our conceits, speaking of things not according as they are, but after the manner of men; and so in this place calleth counterfeite Samuel, by the name of the true Samuel, because it seemed so vnto Saul.

The third objection. That bodie which appeared, prophesied of things that came to passe the day after, as the death of Saul, and of his sonnes; which indeede so fell out; and at the same time, therefore was like to bee Samuel. *Ans.* There is nothing there said or done, which the deuill might not doe. For when the Lord vseth the deuill as his instrument to bring some things to passe, he doth before hand reueile the same vnto him; and looke what particulars the deuill learneth from God, those he can foretell. Now the truth is, Satan was appointed by God to worke Sauls overthrow, and it was made knowne vnto him, when the thing should be done; by which meanes, and by none other, the deuill was enabled to foretell the death of Saul. Where (by the way) obserue, that in this case the deuill can reueale things

A to come certainly, to wit, if hee be appointed Gods immediate instrument for the execution of them, or knows them by light of former prophecies in Scripture.

Fourthly, dead men doe often appeare and walke after they are buried. *Ans.* It is inticede the opinion of the Church of Rome, and of many ignorant persons among vs; but the truth is otherwise. Dead men doe neither walke nor appeare in bodie or soule after death: for all that die, are either Righteous or wicked. The soules of the Righteous goe straight to heauen, and the soules of the wicked to hell, and there remaine till the last iudgement; and therefore of the iust it is saide, that they are *blessed when they die, because they rest from their labours*, Apoc. 14. 13. But how doe they rest, if after they be dead they wander vp and downe in the earth?

B If it be saide, that Moses and Elias appeared when Christ was transfigured in the Mount; and that Lazarus rose againe, and at Christs resurrection many dead bodies rose againe and appeared,

C In answer; there were two times when God suffered the dead to be raised vp againe; either at the planting of his Church, or at the restoring and establishing of it, when it was raised to the foundation. Thus at the restoring of religion in Elias and Elishas times, the sonne of the Shunammite woman, 2. King. 4. 34. and the widows sonne at Sarepta, 1. King. 17. 21. were raised. Again, when God would restore his Church, which was fallen to Idolatrie about the death of Elisha, he caused the like miracle to be wrought in the reuiuing of a dead man by the touching of Elishas dead carke in the grave, thereby to assure the people of their deliuerance, and to cause them to embrace the doctrine of the Prophet after his death, which in his life they had contemned. In like manner at the establishing of the Gospel in the new Testament, it pleased Christ to raise vp Moses and Elias, and to make them knowne to his Disciples by extraordinarie reuelation; that they might beleue that the doctrine which he preached was not new, but the same in substance with that which was recorded in the Law and the Prophets, both which were represented by Moses and Elias. So also he wrought the miracle vpon Lazarus, the widows sonne; and Iairus daughter, thereby to shew the power of his Godhead, the truth of his calling, the testimonie of his doctrine: lastly, to make knowne the power of his resurrection, he caused some to rise and appeare to others, when he himselfe rose againe. But out of these two times we haue neither warrant nor example, that God suffered the dead to be raised vp. Wherefore these instances will not any way confirme Samuels appearing, which indeede was not true, but counterfeite and forged by the Deuill himselfe.

Now for the Second Opinion, of those

which denie that there be any Witches, and thereupon hold that this was a meere cosenage of the Witch, suborning some man or woman to counterfeit the forme, attire, and voyce of Samuel, thereby to delude Saul, that also is untrue. For he that spake foretolde the ruine of Saul, of his sonnes, and of his army, yea the time also wherein this was to come to passe: whereas in likelihood no man or woman in all Israel, could haue foretolde such things before hand of themselves. It was not then any cosenage, as is affirmed, but a thing effected by the deuill, framing to himselfe a bodie in the likeness of Samuel, wherein he spake.

If therefore it be manifest, that by counterfeit apparitions of the dead, Witches and Sorcerers can foretell things to come: hence sundrie points of Witchcraft may be obserued.

First, that there is a league betwene the Witch and the deuill. For this was the cause which moued Saul to seeke to Witches, because neither he himselfe, nor any of his seruants could raise vp Satan in Samuels likenes, as the Witch of Endor did. But Saul being a King, might haue commanded helpe from all the wise and learned men in Israel, for the effecting of such a matter: why then would he rather seeke to a silly woman, then to them? The reason was, because she had made a compact with the deuill, for the vsing of his helpe at her demaund, by vertue whereof he was as readie to answer, as she to call him; whereas Saul and the learned Jews, hauing made no such league, neither he by his power, nor they by their skill, could haue performed such a worke.

Secondly, the deuill will be readie at the call and command of Witches and Sorcerers, when they are intending any mischief. For here the Witch of Endor no sooner spake, but he appeared, and therefore the text giues her a name that signifieth one hauing rule and command ouer Pytho, that is, the familiar spirit: yet when he is commanded, he yeelds not vpon constraint, but voluntarily, because he builds vpon his own greater aduantage, the gaining of the soule of the Witch. Where by the way, let it be obserued, what a precious thing the soule of man is; the purchasing whereof, can make the proud spirit of Satan so farr to abase it selfe, as to be at the command of a silly woman. Againe, what an inueterate malice Satan beareth to man, which for the gaining of a soule, will doe that which is so contrarie to his nature. It may teach man what to esteeme of his soule, and not to sell it for so base a price.

Thirdly, by this, the great power of the deuill in the behalfe of the Sorcerer, is made manifest. For he was presently at hand to counterfeit Samuel, and did it so liuely and cunningly, as well in forme of bodie, as in attire and voyce, that Saul thought verily it was the Prophet: which may be a caueat vnto vs, not easily to giue credit to any such apparitions. For though they seeme neuer so true and euident,

yet such is the power and skill of the deuill, that he can quite deceiue vs, as he did Saul in this place.

Secl. I V.

Hitherto I haue shewed the first kinde of Diuination by means, both true & forged. Now followeth the second; practised without means.

Diuination without meanes, is the foretelling and reuealing of things to come, by the alone and immediate assistance of a familiar spirit. This kinde is mentioned and expressly forbidden, *Leuit. 19. 31. Ye shall not regard them that worke with spirits.* Againe, *Leuit. 20. 6. If any turne after such as worke with spirits, to goe a whoring after them, I will set my face against that person, and will cut him off from among his people.* So, *Deut. 18. 11. Let none be found among you, that consulteth with spirits.* In which places the holy Ghost vseth the word *Ob*, which more properly signifieth a spirit, or deuill, in which sense it is taken in *Leuit. 20. 27.* and in *1. Sam. 28. 8.* And by reason of the league which is betwene the Witch and the deuill, the same is also giuen to the Witch, that worketh by the deuill: and therefore the Pythonesse at Endor, is both called *Ob*, *1. Sam. 28. 9.* and she that ruleth *Ob*, *v. 7. 8.*

Now this kinde of Diuination is practised two wayes: either inwardly, when the spirit is within the Witch; or outwardly, when being forth of the Witch, he doth onely inspire him or her.

An example of the former way, the Scripture affordeth, *Act. 16. 16.* of a woman at Philippi, that had a spirit of Pytho; which gat her master much vantage with diuining. And this spirit whereby she diuined was within her. For Paul being molested, said to the spirit, *I command thee in the name of Iesus Christ, that thou come out of her, and he came out of her the same houre, v. 18.* And because the deuill is not wont in this kind to speak out of the throat and brest, or bellie of the Witch possessed; hereupon learned men haue thought that this name (*Ob*) is giuen to the deuill, because he speaketh out of the Witch as out of a bottle or hollow vessel; for so the word *Ob*, properly signifieth.

Secondly, this may be practised when the deuill is forth of the Witch, and then he either inspirith her, or els casteth her into a trance, and therein reuelleth vnto her such things as she would knowe.

Of this kinde, though we haue no example in Scripture, yet the histories of the Heathen doe afford vnto vs many instances of experience therein. One of the principall is the historie of the tenue Sibylles of Greece, who were most famous Witches, and did prophetic of many things to come, whereof some were true concerning Christ and his kingdome, which the deuill stole out of the Bible, and some other were false; and all of them they received by reuelation from the deuill in trances.

But it will be said, if the deuill reueileth vnto his instruments strange things in trances, then how shall a man discern between diabolical revelations, and the true gift of Prophecy; which God in trances reueileth vnto his Prophets.

In this point Satan is (as it were) Gods aide: For as he in olde time raised vp holy Prophets to speak vnto the fathers, for the building vp of his Church: so hath Satan inspired his ministers, and furnished his instruments with propheticall inspirations from time to time, for the building vp of his owne kingdom: and hereupon he hath notably counterfeited the true gift of prophecies received first from God himselfe. And yet, though in many things they be like, there is great difference betweene them.

First, diuine trances may come vpon Gods children, either when the soule remaineth vnited with the bodie, or else when it is seuered for a time. So much Paul insinueth, when he speaketh of himselfe, 2 Cor. 12. 2. that he was rapt vp (as it were in a heavenly trance) into the third heauen; but whether in the bodie, or out of the bodie, he knewe not. But in all diabolical trances, though the bodie and senses of the Witch be (as it were) bound or benighted for the time; yet their soules still remaine vnited to their bodie, and not seuered from them. For though the deuill by Gods permission may kill the bodie, and so take the soule out of it for euer; yet to take it from the bodie for a time, and to reuine them againe, is impotentiall; and therefore beyond the compass of his power.

Secondly, in diuine trances the seruants of God haue all their senses, yea and all the powers of soule and bodie remaining: sound and perfect, onely for a time the actions and operations are suspended and cease to doe their duty; but as easilie that he from Satan, his instruments are cast into frenzies and madnesses, so as reason is darkened, vnderstanding obscured, memory weakened, the braine disordered; yea all the faculties are so blemished, that many of them neuer recover their former estate againe; and they that scape best, doe carrie their blemishes, as the deuills skars, vnto their graves. For kinde is bound to his friends, that he will leaue his token behind him, where euer he cometh: in this sort the seruants of God receiue no such blemish, but rather a further good, and a greater measure of illumination of all the powers of the soule.

Thirdly, diuine trances tend alway to the confirming of the truth of the Gospell, and the furtherance of true religion and piety. Such was Peter, and others, who were sent to assure him of his calling, vnto the Gospell to the Gentiles; and to reforme his iudgement in this world, that he receiued no acception of persons with God; and shew to them of the newe Testament, all things were cleane, and nothing

polluted. But the scope of them that are from Satan, is principally the suppressing and hindrance of religion; the drawing of the weak into errors; the satisfying and confirming of them that are fallen thereto; and the generall vpholding of the practices of ungodlinesse. And by these and such like particular differences, hath God pulled off the Devils vizar, and made him better knowne and discerned of true Christians. And thus much concerning Diuination, the first part of Witchcraft.

CHAP. IV.

Of operative or working Witchcraft.

The second part is that which consisteth in Operation, and is therefore called Operative or working Witchcraft.

Witchcraft in Operation, is that which is employed in the practice and real working of strange things or wonders; and it hath two parts, Incantment, and Iugling.

Section I.

Incantment is the working of wonders by a Charm. This the Lord expressly forbiddeth, Deut. 18. 10. *Neither shall be found among you, that use Charmes.* In this description, two points are to be considered: 1. What things may be done by incantment, namely wonders; for I say it is the practice of wonders: 2. By what means these wonders are wrought, that is, by a Charm.

For the first: The wonders done by Incantments are, 1. The raising of stormes and tempests; windes and a cumber, by sea and by land: 2. The poisoning of the ayre: 3. Blasting of cornes: 4. Killing of cattell, and annoying of men, women and children: 5. The troubling of strange passions and torments in mens bodie, and other calamities, with the turning of the same to calling out of death. These and such like things Incantments can doe by their charmes. And for proofe hereof, we haue the vniuersall consent of all ages, with the records of Witches confessions, which manifest the same; besides the testimony of experience in this age: so as such that wilke to the question, may as well doubt of the Stone turning a noose day.

Yet for the further declaration thereof, we will alledge what the Scripture saith in this point. Solomon saith, *If the Serpent bite when he is not charmed, he better is a dialer.* Eccles. 10. 1. thus the words are in our English translation: but they may better be thus read according to the original, *If the serpent bite before he be charmed, what profit hath the matter of the tongue thereby; that is, the Charmer.* And so they

Incantment.

beare this sence. If the Inchanter be bitten, before the serpent be charmed, then he hath no benefit by his charme. For Salomon in that place giueth vs to vnderstand, what power Inchanters haue, and what they may doe by their charmes, if they come in time; namely, stay the poison of the serpent, so as he cannot hurt, either by biting or stinging. When Balac intended euill against Israel, he hired Balaam to curse the, Num. 22. 6. Now this Balaam was an inchanting Witch; for though he be called a Prophet; yet this was onely in the reputation of the world; for his practise was to inchant by charmes of words; and to that purpose he was hired to curse Gods people, that is, to bring mischief vpon them by charming; which thing, when he had often and many waies assayed to doe, and could no way preuaile, but that it pleased God contrary to his endeauours, to blesse Israel, then he breakes out into these words: *There is no sorcerie against Iacob, nor sooth saying against Israel*, Num. 23. 23. As if he should haue said, I know wel that sorcerie is powerfull in many things, and of force to bring much mischief vpon men, yet it can take no place against the people of God, because he hath blessed them; and whome he blesseth, them no man can hurt by cursing. Inchanters therefore, may vpon Gods permission worke strange things, as appears by these places, to name no more.

The second point to be obserued, is the meanes whereby these wonders are practised; these are counterfeit and supposed meanes, not ordeyned & sanctified by God, which are commonly called Charmes.

A Charme is a Spell or verse, consisting of strange words, vsed as a signe or watchword to the deuill, to cause him to worke wonders.

First, I say it is a *Spell consisting of strange words*, because in these enchantments, certaine words or verses are secretly vttered, which in regard of the common formes of words are strange, and wherein there is thought to be a miraculous efficacie to bring some extraordinarie and vexpected thing to passe. A point of it selfe euident, and needing no further prooffe, considering it is not vknowne to the more ignorant sort, who are better acquainted with these, then with the word of God. And these words are not all of one and the same kind; but some are rude and barbarous, neither knowne nor conceiued or vnderstood; of which the ancient sort of Charmes were wont to be made especially, and some later. Some againe are plaine and knowne termes, which may be vnderstood, as the names of the Trinity, some words and sentences of Scripture, as *In principio erat verbum*, &c. Againe charmes that consist of words, are not all of one sort, but some be imprecations, wishing some euill; others in shew haue the forme of praises and blessings, whereby the Witch either flatteringly commendeth, or fauourably wisheth some good; others againe are made in forme of pray-

er and petition: and they all are sometimes plainly conceiued, sometimes in ruder and more vknown words, as those well know, who haue heard them, or reade them where they are to be found.

Secondly, I adde, that the charme is vsed for a *signe and watchword to the deuill*, to cause him to worke wonders, wherein standeth the nature and proper end of a charme. The nature, in that it is a diabolicall signe; the end, to cause the deuill to worke a wonder: whereby it is distinguished from all other speeches of men. For all they commonly carry the nature of the thing, whereof and whereabout they be made; but the Charme doth not alwaies follow the nature of the words, but hath another nature in regard of the immediate relation it hath to the deuill, to whom it is a signe. Again, the charme pronounced doth not the wonder, but the deuill admonished by it as by the watchword to doe the feat.

Now because some are of opinion, in regard of the ordinarie production of strange effects by these meanes, that the Spell hath in it selfe some vertue and power to such and such purposes whereunto it is vsed; I will stand a while in the prooffe of the contrarie. That a Charme is onely a diabolicall watchword, and hath in it selfe no such effectuell power or possibilitie to worke a wonder. My reasons are these.

First, this must be taken for a maine ground; That as there is nothing in the world that hath being but from God, so nothing hath in it any efficacie, but by his ordinance. Now whatsoever efficacie, is in any creature from God, it receiued the same into it selfe, either by creation, or since the creation by some newe and speciall institution, appointment, and gift of God. For example: The bread in the Sacrament, by a naturall power giuen vnto it in the creation, serueth to nourish the bodie, and the same bread, by Gods speciall appointment in his word, feedes the soule, in that by his ordinance it is made to be a signe & seale of the body of Christ broken for vs. And so it is in every creature; if it be created, it is created ordinarie and naturall; if it hath by creation, it is extraordinary and supernatural; if it hath it by diuine ordinance: So that what soeuer comes to passe by any other meanes, as by Saranically operation, Blow Charmes, and Spells, standing in set words and syllables, haue no power in them selfe to worke wonders; either by the gift of nature in the creation, or by Gods appointment since the creation; and therefore they haue in them no power at all for any such purpose. (This latter part of discourse, being the assumption or application of the ground to the present instance, consisteth of two partes, which I will present in order. First then I assume, that by the gift of nature, no wordes of Charmes haue power in them to worke wonders; and I prooue it in this manner.

I. All words made and uttered by men, are in their owne nature but sounds framed by the tongue, of the breath that commeth from the lungs. And that which is onely a bare sound, in all reason can haue no vertue in it to cause a reall worke, much lesse to produce a wonder. The sounds of bells and of many muscalle instruments, and the voices of many brute creatures, are farre more strong and powerfull then the voice of a man: yet who knoweth not, that none of all these is auailable to such purposes. Indeepe they haue power to affect the minde, by their sweetnesse or otherwise, but they are not able to bring to passe a reall worke, either by the inflicting of hurts and harmes, or by the procuring of good. I conclude therefore, that the voice of man by nature, hath no power to worke any wonders.

II. Againe, euery thing which hurteth or affecteth another, must necessarily touch the thing which it hurteth or affecteth. For it is a granted rule in nature, that euery agent worketh vpon the patient by touching: But words uttered in Charmes are commonly made of things absent, and therefore though it should be granted, that they had the power of touching a substance (which they cannot haue) yet of themselves they are not auailable to bring vpon things absent either good or euill.

III. Moreouer, if wordes conceived in charmes and spells haue any such power as is pretended, why should not euery word that any man speaketh haue the same power, inasmuch as all words are of the same nature, being onely sounds framed in the breast, and uttered of the tongue in letters and syllables? But experience teacheth, that the same word spoken by another, hath not the same vertue: For the charme uttered by the Charmer himselfe, will take effect, but being spoken in the same manner by another man, that is no Inchanter, maketh to no purpose, for nothing is effected by it.

IV. That which is in nature nothing but a bare signification, cannot serue to worke a wonder, and this is the nature of all words; for as they be framed of mans breath, they are naturall, but yet in regard of forme and articulation they are artificiall and significant, and the vse of them in euery language is, to signifie that which the author thereof intended; for the first significations of words, depended vpon the will and pleasure of man that framed and inuented them. Being therefore inuented onely to shewe or signifie some thing, it remaines that neither in nature nor proper vse, they can be applyed to the producing of wonderfull and strange effects. Thus the former part of the assumption is cleared,

In the second place I affirme, that the words of charmers haue not this power in them, by any speciall gift, blessing, or appointment of God, since the creation which is the other part of the assumption. And I shewe it thus: whatsoeuer

A is powerfull and effectuell to any ende or purpose, by Gods gift, blessing, or appointment, the same is commanded in his word to be vsed, and hath also a promise of blessing annexed to the right vse thereof. To vse the instance before made for explanation sake. The bread in the Lords suppet, hath this power and propertie giuen it by Christ, to seale and signifie vnto euery beleeuing receiuer the bodie of Christ; and by this propertie giuen it, it is auailable to this purpose; though it be a thing about the common and naturall vse of bread; and thereupon we haue warrant from Christs own commandement, ordinance, and example so to vse it. But in the whole bodie of the Scripture, there is not the like commandement to vse the words of Charmes for the effecting of wonders, much lesse the like promise of blessing vpon the same so vsed: therefore the conclusion is, that God hath giuen no such power vnto them in speciall.

If it be asked then, what they are, and whereto they serue? I answer, they are no better then the deuils sacraments and watchwords, to cause him to do some strange worke. For the Inchanter hath relation in his minde to the deuill, whose helpe he hath at hand by couenant either open or secret; or at least some superstitious opinion of the force of the words, which is a preparation to a couenant.

C The truth of this doctrine, howsoeuer it be thus made manifest, yet it findes not generall intertainment at all mens hands. For there are and haue beene some learned men, in all ages, who maintained the contrarie, both by word and writing; and namely, that there is great vertue and power in words pronounced in time and place, to effect strange things. For prooffe wherof they alledge these reasons.

D First, that the bare conceit and imagination of man, is of great force to doe strange things; and therefore words expressed much more. *Ans.* The ground of the reason is naught. Imagination is nothing else but a strong conceit of the minde touching any thing, whatsoeuer it be, and by reason of the communion that is betwene the bodie and soule being together, it is of great force to worke within the man that imagineth diuersly, and to cause alteration in himselfe, which may tend either to the hurt or to the good of his owne bodie: but yet imagination hath no force out of a man to affect or hurt another. A man (conceiuing desperately of his owne estate) by the strength of imagination may kill himselfe; but the same conceit, be it neuer so strong, can not hurt his neighbour. For it is no more then Cæsars image vpon his coyne, which serueth onely to represent Cæsar: so imagination is nothing but the representation of some thing in the minde by conceit, and therefore as the person of Cæsar is nothing hurt, though his image be defaced; so when we conceiue of men in our mindes, though neuer so badly & maliciously, yet all is of no force to hurt

Omne agens agit per contrarium.

or annoy them, either in person or state.

Secondly, they asseadge that Witches by malicious and wrie lookes, in anger and displeasure, may and doe hurt those vpon whom they looke, whether they be men or other creatures. And it is an old receiued opinion, that in malicious and ill disposed persons, there proceed out of the eye with the beames, noysome and malignant spirits, which infect the ayre, and doe poison or kill, not onely them with whom they are daily conuersant, but others also whose companie they frequent, of what age, strength, and complexion so euer they be. *Ans.* But the opinion is as fond, as it is old: for it is as much against nature that such vertue should proceede out of the eye, or such spirits breake out of the nerues to the partie hated, as it is for the blood of the bodie, of it selfe, to gush out of the veines.

Yet for the ratifying of this opinion, they alledge that which is writtē in *Gen. 30. 37.* where *Iacob* laid speckled rodde before the sheepe in their waterie troughes, and that by Gods appointment, for this ende, that they might bring forth partie coloured lambs. I answer, that was not a worke of sight, but a speciall and extraordinarie worke of Gods prouidence vpon *Iacob* in his necessitie, as we may plainly see in the chapter next following, *v. 9. and 11.* yea it was taught *Iacob* by God himselfe; and if it had beene an ordinarie worke, doubtlesse the gaines thereof beeing so good, *Iacob* would haue done it againe afterward; but wee neuer reade that he did it againe. And be it granted it were a naturall worke, yet it cannot prooue witching by sight, because the sheepe receiued into their eyes the species and resemblance of the rodde, which is according to nature; whereas in fascination or bewitching by sight, malignant spirits should not bee receiued in, but sent forth of the eye, which is against nature.

Yea, but the Basiliske or Cockatrice doth kill man and beast with his breath and sight, yea the wolfe takes away the voyce of such as he suddenly meetes withall and beholde, and why may not wicked men or women doe the like? *Ans.* Indeepe it is a thing receiued by common error, and held of some for a truth; but no experience of any man hath yet beene brought for the prooffe thereof, and therefore it is to be reputed as fabulous. Thus much in probabilitie may be thought (if the allegation should be true) that the Basiliske being possessed of a thicke poyson, may by his breath send forth some grosse venomous vapours, and thereby infect the ayre, and poison the thing that is neere vnto him. Again, that the suddaine and vnexpected beholding of the venomous Cockatrice, or the rauinous wolfe, (beeing creatures in their kind fearefull, especially to those that are not acquainted with the) may cause present astonishment, & consequently perill of death. But that this should bee done by the eyes of these creatures only, in manner a-

A forefaid, it is not credible; and therefore Authors haue vpo good ground denied it, as being confirmed neither by reason, nor experience.

Thirdly, they reason thus; Inchanters by whispering of words in charmes can stay the stinging and poisoning of serpents; for so *Dauid* in effect speaketh; that the voice of the Charmer charmeth the serpent, *Psal. 58. 5.* It may seeme therefore that there is no smal force in words for the effecting of strange workes. *Ans.* It must be granted that the charmer may inchant the serpent: but how? not by vertue of the words in the Charme, but by power of the deuill, who then is stirred vp, when the charme is repeated, to doe the thing intended. The truth of this answer appears by the words of the text, as they are reade in the originall, that the Inchanter *soyneth societies very cunningly*, namely, with the deuill. Now these societies betweene Satan and the Charmer, are the very ground of the worke vpon the serpent: which worke, vpon confederacie formerly made, is done by the deuill, and the words of the Charme are no more but the Inchanters Item or watchword, to occasion him thereunto. And let any other man repeate the same words a thousand times, that either is not thus confederate with Satan, or hath not a superstitious opinion of Charmes, and all his labour will be in vaine.

C Fourthly, the word of God is of great force in the hearts of men to conuert and change them, as it is vttered by the mouth of mortall man; and this force is not in the man by whom it is spoken; where then should it be, but in the words? and then if in the words, why may not other words be of like efficacie, beeing vttered by man? *Ans.* 1. The power of Gods word cometh not from this, that it is a word, and barely vttered out of the mouth of a man; for so it is a dead letter: but it proceedeth from the powerfull operation of the spirit, annexed by Gods promise thereunto, when it is vttered, read, and conceiued; which operation if it were taken away, the word might be preached a thousand yeares together, without any fruite or effect, either to saluation or condemnation.

D 2. The word of God is powerful by the concurrence of the worke of the spirit, not in all things; as for example, in raising winds and tempests, in infecting the ayre, in killing and annoying men or other creatures; but in the conuersion of sinners, in gathering the elect, and in confirming those that be called; and this power it hath also by his special blessing & appointment.

3. Furthermore, the same word is not of power, when it is barely read, heard, or spoken, vnlesse it be also conceiued in the vnderstanding, receiued with reuerence; treasured vp in the memory, and mingled with faith in the heart: whereas the bare reading and muttering ouer the words of a Charme by an Inchanter, though

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in an vnknowne tongue, in rude and barbarous words, is sufficient to procure the working of wonders.

Now though the word of God be in it selfe pure, and serue to excellent purpose, as hath beene said, yet by the way we may remember; That as it is with all things that are most precious, nothing is so excellent in it kind which may not be abused; so it is with this heavenly word: for it is and may be made a Charme two waies. First, when some part of it, is indeede vsed for a charme. Thus many Texts of Scripture; both in Latin and other languages, haue been abused by Inchanters, as might easily be shewed. Secondly, when it is heard, read, recited or made a matter of prayer without vnderstanding. And thus the ignorant man; as much as in him lieth, makes it a Charme. For in his ordinarie vse thereof, he neither conceiueth nor taketh care to vnderstand it, as lamentable experience teacheth. Yet in neither of these is the very bare repeating of the word effectuell. For as when a man heares or reades it, vnlesse the Spirit of God inlighteneth his heart, it is to no purpose; so when it is made the matter of a Spel, nothing will be effected, vnlesse the deuill either by confederacie, or superstitious conceit be drawne to conferre his helpe in the point, for his owne aduantage.

Howbeit, of all Inchantements these are the most dishonourable to God, most acceptable to Satan, and most hurtfull to the Charmer, which are made of the Scriptures. For beside the sinne of Witchcraft in the Charming, this inconuenience insueth, that Satan procureth more credit to one of these, then to twenty other, because the words are Scripture; beereby cloking his mischieuous practises vnder the colour of holynesse, and so confirming the truth of that which the holy Ghost saith, that when he worketh most deceitfully, he *transformes himself into an Angel of light*, 2. Cor. 11. 14. He knoweth well, that ordinarie words seeme nothing to some men, therefore he teacheth and suggesteth phrases and sentences out of the word, for such vngodly ends, that euen the grace of them fetched from the Scriptures, may make them seeme powerfull. Wherefore let euery one that is endued with grace and knowledge, duely consider this with himselfe. Can not Gods word be effectuell, when it is vsed to edification, vnlesse the worke of his owne Spirit accompany the same? then surely it is impossible, that the same which is holy, beeing vsed to an euill ende, should be powerfull, except the deuill affordeth his helpe for the effecting thereof. To conclude therefore, let men say what they will, the truth is this, that words of Inchantment, be they neuer so holy or prophane, either by way of cursing or blessing, haue no power of themselves to the producing of strange workes; but are (as hath beene said) onely diabolicall signes, admonishing the Deuill of some wickednesse intended and desired,

A which he through his power must cause to be done.

And thus much of Inchantment standing vpon the practise of wonders by a Charme.

To this head of Inchantment, sundry other practises of Witches are to be referred, the chiefe whereof are these.

First, the vsing and making of Characters, Images, or Figures, specially the framing of Circles, for this ende to worke wonders by them. As to drawe the picture of a childe, or man, or other creature in clay or waxe, and to burie the same in the ground, or to hide it in some secret place, or to burne it in the fire, thereby intending to hurt or kill the partie resembled. Again, to make an impression into the said picture, by pricking or gashing the heart or any other place with intent to procure dangerous or deadly paines to the same parts. This is a meere practise of Inchantment, and the making of the image, and vsing of it to this ende, is in vertue a Charme, though no words be vsed. For the bare picture hath no more power of it selfe to hurt the bodie represented, then bare words. All that is done commeth by the worke of the deuill, who alone by the vsing of the picture in that sort is occasioned so or so, to worke the parties destruction.

Secondly, hither we may referre the vsing of Amulets, that is, remedies and preseruatiues against inchantments, sorceries, and bewitchings, made of hearbes or some such things, and hanged about the necke for that ende.

Thirdly, the vsing of Exorcismes, that is, certaine set formes of words vsed in way of adjuration, for some extraordinary ende. A practise vsuall in the Church of Rome, whereby the Priest coniures the salt, holy water, cream, spittle, oyle, palmes, &c. all which are in truth meere inchantments. For howsoeuer the Council of Trent hath ratified them by their decrees, and so commended them to generall vse within the compasse of the Popish Church; yet they haue in them no power or abilitie of blessing or cursing, either by nature or Gods appointment.

Fourthly, In this number we recken the vsing of the name *Iesus*, to driue away the deuill, or to preuent Witchcraft, a common practise among the ignorant. Wherein the wonderfull malice of Satan bewraies it selfe, in making the ignorant people think that Christ is a coniurer, and that there is vertue in the naming of his name, to doe some strange thing. Whereas the truth is, he careth neither for that name, nor for all the names of God, if a man goes no further then the bare repeating of them; but rather delighteth to see them so abused and disgraced. And hereupon it is, that in all coniurations, when he is raised by the Sorcerer, he is willing to be adiured by all the holy names of God that are in the Scripture, to the ende that he may the more deeply seduce his owne instruments, and make them to thinke that these ho-

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ly names will bind him, and force him to yeeld vnto their desires in the particular, when indeed there is no such matter. Which point thoroughly considered, may admonish vs to take speciall heede of these cunning glozes and deuillish insinuations, whereby he intendeth to delude vs, alway remembering, that the Apostles themselves, to whome the power of working miracles was giuen, did neuer acknowledge the worke to be done by the name of *Iesus*, but as S. Peter affirmeth, *through faith in his name*, Act. 3. 6. 16.

Fifthly, the crossing of the bodie, to this ende, that we may be blessed from the deuill. A thing vsuall euen of latter times, specially in Poperie; wherein the crosse carrieth the very nature of a Charme, and the vse of it in this manner, a practise of Inchantment. For God hath giuen no such vertue to a crosse, either by creation, or speciall priuilege and appointment.

Sixtly, the Scratching of a Witch to discover the Witch: For it is a meanes which hath no warrant or power thereunto, either by the word of God, or from nature, but onely from the Deuill; who if he yeeldeth either at crossing, or scratching, he doth it willingly, and not by compulsion, that he may feede his instrument with a false faith, and a superstitious conceit, to the dishonour of God, and their owne overthrow. In a word, looke whatsoever actions, gestures, signes, rites, and ceremonies are vsed by men or women to worke wonders, hauing no power to effect the same, either by creation and nature, or by speciall appointment from God, they must all be referred to this head, and reckoned for Charmes.

The vse. Now considering that all kinds of Charmes are the Deuills watchwords to cause him to worke the wonder, and haue no vertue in them, be the words wherein they are conceiued neuer so good: hereby we must be admonished, to take heede of the vse of them, and all other vnlawfull ceremonies, both in respect of their formes, be they praises or prayers, or imprecations; as also in regard of their endes, be they neuer so good in outward appearance. But alas! the more lamentable is the case, Charming is in as great request as Physicke, and Charmers more sought vnto, then Physitians in time of neede. There be charmes for all conditions and ages of men, for diuers kinds of creatures yea for euery disease; as for head-ach, tooth-ach, Ritches, and such like. Neuertheless, howsoeuer some haue subiected themselves to such base and vngodly meanes, yet the vse hereof by the mercie of God, hath not bene vnversall. And those that haue sought for helpe, are to be aduised in the feare of God, to repent of this their sinne, and to take a better course. Let them rightly consider, that they haue hitherto depended vpon Satan for helpe, and consequently haue dishonoured God, and renounced lawfull meanes sanctified by him, which should not haue bene done in

A case of the greatest worldly gaine. For no man may doe euill, that good may come of it.

But they that vse the helpe of Charmers, and consult with Wisemen, are wont to alledge something in defence or excuse of their practise.

First, that they for their part, meane no hurt, they know no euill by the man whome they seeke to, they onely send to him, and he does them good, how and in what manner they regard not. *Ans.* 1. Indeepe many be ignorant of the Inchanters courses. But in cases of losse and hindrance, men ought not onely to inquire the meanes, but to waigh and consider the warrantableness thereof, otherwise they doe not that they doe of faith, and so are guiltie of sinne before God, Rom. 15. last v. 2. Put the case they themselves meane no hurt, yet in this action they doe hurt to themselves, by reposing trust in things, which vpon better consideration they shall finde to be dishonourable, and therefore hatefull to God.

Secondly, they alleadge; we goe to the Physitian for counsell, we take his *Recipe*, but we know not what it meaneth; yet, we vse it, and finde benefit by it; if this be lawfull, why may we not as well take benefit by the Wiseman, whose courses we be ignorant of? *Ans.* 1. Physicke vsed in time and place, is a worthie ordinance of God, and therefore being rightly vsed, God giues his blessing to it. But for Inchantment it was neuer sanctified by God, and therefore cannot be vsed in any assurance of his blessing. 2. The Physitians receit being a composition and mixture of naturall things, though a man knowes it not, yet he takes it into his stomack, or applies it to his bodie, and sensibly perceiues the vertue and efficacie thereof in the working: whereas the Charmers course consisteth of words, which neither are knowne in themselves, nor are manifest in their vse to sense or vnderstanding. And hereby it is plaine, there is not the same reason of Physicke and charmes: the one hauing a sensible operation by vertue giuen it of God; the other insensible, and wrought aboue ordinarie meanes by the worke of Satan.

D Thirdly, they alleadge, God is mercifull, and he hath provided a salue for euery sore, they haue vsed other meanes, but they haue not succeeded, and what should they doe more, may they not in extremitie repaire to the Inchanter, and see what he can doe for them, rather then their goods and cattell should be lost and spoyled? *Ans.* 1. It were better for you to bide by the losse, yea to liue and die in any sicknesse, then to tempt God by seeking helpe at charmers hands: for their helpe is dangerous and cometh from the deuill, whereupon if ye rest your selues, ye ioyne league with him, and so hazzard eternally the safetie both of bodies and soules. 2. Vse good meanes allowed of God and when they haue bene vsed often without successe, proceed not to other courses,

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but referte your selves to God, and say with Iob: *The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord,* Iob. 1. 21. And thus much of Inchanting, the first part of Operative Witchcraft.

Sect. II.

Jugling.

The second part is Jugling. *Jugling, is the deluding of the eye with some strange sleight done above the ordinary course of nature.* In this description there are two points necessarily required in the point of Jugling: *Delusion of the eye, and extraordinary Sleight.*

Delusion is then performed, when a man is made to thinke he sees that which indeede he sees not. And this is done by operation of the devill diuinely, but especially three waies. First, by corrupting the humor of the eye, which is the next instrument of sight. Secondly, by altering the Ayre, which is the meane by which the object or species is carried to the eye. Thirdly, by altering and changing the object, that is, the thing scene, or whereon a man looketh.

This deluding of the sense is noted by Paul, Gal. 3. 1. *O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you, where the spirit of God vseth a word borrowed from this kind of forcerers, which in full meaning signifieth thus much: who hath deluded your eyes, and caused you to thinke you see that, which you see not. As if he should haue said, I looke as the Jugler, by his deuillish art, deludeth the outward eye, and maketh men thinke they see that, which indeede they doe not. Blame to the false Apostles, by their erroneous doctrine, haue deluded the eyes of your mindes, and haue caused you Galatians, to iudge that to be the word of God, which is not, and that to be truth, which is error and falshood. Paul giues us to vnderstand by the very phrase vsed, that there is such a kind of Jugling, as is able to deceiue the eye. For otherwise his comparison would not hold.*

The second thing required in Jugling, is a *Sleight* above the order and course of nature. This is the point which maketh these conuincances to be Witchcraft. For if they were within the compasse of nature, they could not be rightly scamed and reputed Sorceries; considering that diuers men by reason of the agility of their bodies, and sleight of their hands, are able to worke diuers feats, which seeme strange to the beholders, and yet not meete with Witchcraft. Again, some by the lawfull use of Opticks may shewe strange and admirable things, by meanes of light and darkenesse, and yet may be free from imputation of Magickall workes, because they keepe themselves wholly within the power and practise of nature. But sleights done in Jugling, ouer and above delusion, must passe the ordinarie bounds and precincts of nature, and so are made points of Witchcraft. One memorable example, for the clearer manifestation of this point, we haue in the Scripture, by name in the 7. 8. and 9. Chap.

ters of Exodus, where *Moses and Aaron*, wrought wonders before Pharaoh, turning the rodde into a serpent, and water into blood, with many other such like. Now *Iannes and Iambres* (for so Paul calleth them, 1. Tim. 3. 8.) the Magicians of Egypt, did worke the same miracles which *Moses and Aaron* had done; But here was the difference; *Moses* made true creatures, and wrought true miracles, whereas they did all in appearance and outward shewe. For theirs were not true reall actions, but onely Magickall illusions, wrought by the sleight and subtiltie of the Deuill, in the practise of Jugling.

And because some thinke, that the serpents and frogs caused by the Magicians, were true creatures, and all their other workes as really and truly done as those which *Moses & Aaron* did, I will here stand a litle to shew and prooue the contrary, that they were onely in shew and appearance, and not in deed and truth.

First then, if the frogs and serpents caused by *Iannes and Iambres* were true creatures indeede, and their other sleights true and reall workes, then they were made and caused either by the deuill, or by God himselfe: (for no man of himselfe can make a rodde to become a true serpent.) But this was done neither by the deuill, nor by God, as shall appeare in the sequel.

They were not done by the Deuill; because the deuill cannot make a true creature, either serpent or frogge.

How doth that appeare? *Ans.* To make a true creature of any sort, by producing the same out of the causes, is a worke serving to continue the creation, and is indeede a kinde of creation. Now the deuill as he cannot create a thing at the first, so he is not able to continue the same by a newe creation, that beeing a propertie belonging to God onely. For better conceiuing thereof, we must knowe, that God createth two waies; either primarily in the beginning, when he made all things of nothing, Gen. 1. 1. or secondarily, in the gouernment of the world, when he produceth a true creature in a true miracle; yet not making it of nothing (as he did in the beginning) but producing it by ministering and informing the matter immediately by himselfe, without the aide of ordinarie meanes and instruments appointed after the creation. The former is creation properly called, the latter a continuance thereof. Both these God hath reserved to himselfe, as incommunicable to any creature. As for the succession and propagation of creatures in their kinds, as of men, beasts, birds, fishes, &c. it is onely a continuation of the creatures in their kindes, and is wrought by ordinarie meanes of generation; but is no continuance of the worke of the creation. And the deuill by his power may make counterfeits of the true creatures of God, but neither by creating them, nor by continuing their creation; these two beeing workes pecu-

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liar and proper to the Deitie alone.

Againe, if the deuill could turne a rodde into a true serpent, and water into blood indeed, then his power should be equall to the power of the Sonne of God himselfe. For the first miracle that he wrought, was the turning of water into wine, Ioh. 2. And that was no greater a worke, then the turning of water into blood, or a rodde into a serpent. But this were most horrible blasphemie, to match the deuill, with the Sonne of God, and his finite power, with the power of the Godhead, by which miracles are wrought. And the truth is, Satan can worke no true miracles; neither doth the text import, that the Magicians did that which they did by miracle, but by Inchantment and Sorcerie, Exod. 7. 11. 22. & 8. 7.

In the second place, I assure that God did not create these creatures, or cause the workes of the Magicians to be effected. And this is prooued by the words of Paul, 2. Tim. 3. 8. who saith that Iannes and Iambres (which did these workes) withstood Moses and Aaron, whom god had sent, and by whom he wrought. If then God had wrought with the Magicians also, he should have bene against himselfe; yea, he should have wrought both wayes, for himselfe, and against himselfe, and consequently should haue impeached his owne glorie, for the manifestation whereof he wrought miracles by Moses and Aaron; which we may not once thinke of God, seeing therefore that these serpents, if they were true creatures, were not created either by Satan, because he could not, or by God himselfe, because he would not; it must needs remaine, that they, and all other the Magicians workes, were meere illusions, and not otherwise.

Yet for the further clearing of the matter in hand; the text it selfe yeeldeth sundry reasons, to prooue that these acts of the Sorcerers, were but appearances, and not things really produced.

First, they that can not doe a lesser thing, can not possibly doe a greater. Now Moses sheweth that the Egyptian Inchanters could not doe a lesser thing, then the turning of rodde into true serpents, or waters into blood. For they could not by all their power and skill, preserve themselves from the plagues of Egypt, as the birch, and other iudgements, Exod. 9. 11. which was a more easie thing, then to make or change a creature. Nay, they were not able to bring forth lice by their enchantment, which seemeth to be the least miracle, but acknowledged that to be the finger of God, Exod. 8. 18, 19.

Secondly, the text saith, that Aarons serpent deuoured their serpents, Exod. 7. 20. hence it followes, that theirs could not be true creatures. For in all likelihood they were, all of the same kind, and of like quantitie, at least in shew. And it was neuer seene, that one creature should receiue into it selfe an other creature of equall

A bignes, with preservation of it self. Neither hath it bene obserued ordinarily, that one creature should deuoure another of the same kind. It was therefore a worke of Gods secret power in the true serpent, whereby he would shew that the other were not true and reall, but formall and imaginarie.

Thirdly, if the Magicians had bene able to haue made true frogges and serpents, then by the same power they might haue remooued those which Moses brought; for the like ability is required in both; yet this they could not doe, but were faine to intreat Moses, to pray for their remoouall. So saith the text, Then Pharaoh called for Moses and Aaron, and said, Pray for me, Exod. 8. 8.

Lastly, the frogges which Moses caused, when they were remooued, being gathered on heapes, caused great corruption, and the whole land stanke of them, Exod. 8. 14. Againe, the water turned into blood, made the fish in the riuer to die, and the water to stinke; so that the Egyptians could not drinke of the water of the riuer, Exod. 7. 21. But we read of no such effect of the frogges and waters of the Inchanters, which doubtlesse would haue followed, as well as the other, if both had bene true and reall creatures. It remaines therefore, that these were but meere appearances and lugging tricks, and the Sorcerers themselves luggers, yes all their workes, but sleights, caused by the power and subtiltie of Satan, and no true workes, as hath bene said. Thus I haue declared the whole nature, grounds, and kinds of this damnable Art.

CHAP. V.

What Witches be, and of how many sorts.

HAVING in the former part of this Treatise opened the nature of Witchcraft, and thereby made way for the better vnderstanding of this Iudiciall Law of Moses, I come now to shew, who is the practiser hereof, whom the Text principally nameth, namely, the Witch;

and a Witch is a Magician, who either by open or secret language, willingly and willingly, consents to use the aid and assistance of the Deuill, in the working of wonder.

First, I call the Witch a Magician, to shew what kind of person this is; to wit, such a one as doth professe and practise Witchcraft. For a Magician is a professor and a practiser of this art, as may appeare, Act. 8. 9. where Simon a Witch of Samaria is called Magus, or Simon the Magician.

Againe, in this generall terme, I comprehend both sexes or kinds of persons, men and women, excluding neither from being Witches. A point the rather to be remembered, be-

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cause Moses in this place setting downe a Iudiciall Law against Witches, vseth a word of the feminine gender [*in* *caus* *phab*] which in English properly signifieth, a woman Witch; whereupon some might gather, that women onely were Witches. Howbeit Moses in this word extenpreteth not the male, but onely vseth a notion referring to the female, for good causes; principally for these two;

First, to give vs to vnderstand, that the woman being the weaker sexe, is sooner intangled by the deuils illusions with this damnable art, then the man. And in all ages it is found true by experience, that the deuill hath more easily and oftner prevailed with women, then with men. Hence it was, that the Hebrewes of ancient times, vseth it for a proverbe, *The more women, the more Witches*. His first temptation in the beginning, was with Eue a woman, and since he pursueth his practise accordingly, as making most for his advantage. For where he findeth easiest entrance, and best entertainment, thither will he oftneest resort.

Secondly, to take away all exception of punishment from any partie that shall practise this trade; and to shew that weaknesse cannot exempt the Witch from death. For in all reason, if any might alledge infirmitie, and plead for fauour, it were the woman, who is weaker then the man. But the Lord saith, if any person of either sexe among his people, be found to haue entred couenant with Satan, and become a practiser of Sorcerie; though it be a woman and the weaker vessell, she shall not escape, she shall not be suffered to liue, she must die the death. And though weaknes in other cases, may lessen both the crime and the punishment, yet in this it shall take no place.

The second point in the description is *consenting to use the helpe of the deuill, either by open or secret league, willingly and willingly*: wherein standeth the very thing, that maketh a Witch to be a Witch. The yeelding of consent vpon couenant. By which clause, two sorts of people are expressly excluded from being Witches. First, such as be tainted with phrenzy or madnesse, or are through weaknesse of the braine deluded by the deuill. For these, though they may be said after a sort to haue societie with Satan, or rather he with them, yet they cannot giue their consent to vse his aide truly, but onely in imagination; with the true Witch it is farre otherwise. Secondly, all such superstitious persons, men or women, as vse Charmes and Inchantment for the effecting of any thing vpon a superstitious and erroneous perswasion, that the Charmes haue vertue in them to doe such things, not knowing that it is the action of the deuill by those meanes; but thinking that God hath put vertue into them, as he hath done into herbes for Physicke. Of such persons we haue (no doubt) abundance in this our Land, who though they deale wickedly & sinne grievously in ysing Charmes, yet because they in-

rend not to ioyne league with the deuill, either secretly, or formally, they are not to be counted Witches. Neuertheles, they are to be aduertised in the meane time, that their estate is fearefull. For their present vngodly practises haue prepared the already to this cursed trade, and may bring them in time to be the rankest Witches that can be. Wherefore I aduise all ignorant persons, that knowe not God nor the Scriptures, to take heed and beware of this dangerous euill, the vse of Charmes. For if they be once conuined in their consciences, and knowe that God hath giuen no power to such meanes, and yet shall vse them, assuredly they doe in effect consent to the deuill to be helped by him, and thereupon are ioyned in confederacie with him in the confidence of their owne hearts, and so are become Witches, *et diabolus*

The third and last thing in the description, is the end of Witchcraft; *The working of wonders*. Wonders are wrought three wayes (as hath beene shewed,) either by Diuination, or by Inchantment, or by Iugling: and to one of these three heads all seates & practises of Witchcraft are to be referred.

Now if any man doubt, whether there be such Witches indeede as haue beene described; let him remember, that besides experience in all ages and countries, wee haue also sundrie examples of them euen in the Scriptures.

In the old Testament we reade of Balaam, *Numb. 23*, who though he be called a Prophet, because he was so reputed of men, yet indeede he was a notorious Witch, both by profession and practise, and would haue shewed his cunning in that kind vpon the Israelites, if God had not hindered him against his will. Of the same kind were the Inchanters of Egypt, *Exod. 7*, the Witches of Persia, *Dan. 2*, and the Pythonisse of Endor, knowne for a renowned Sorcerer ouer all Israel; and therefore Sauls seruants being asked, could presently tel of her, as we read, *1 Sam. 28*.

In the new Testament, mention is made of Simon, whose name declared his profession; his name was Magus; and the text saith, that he vsed Witchcraft, and bewitched the people of Samaria, calling himselfe a great man; *Act. 8*. Whence it was that after his death, there was a statue set vp in Rome in honour of him in the daies of Claudius Celsar, with this inscription, *Simoni Deo sancto*. And it is not vnlike, but *Darius* the false Prophet at Paphus, was a man addicted to the practises of Witchcraft, and for that cause was called by a kind of excellencie, *Elymas the Magician*, *Act. 13*. 6, 8. that is, the great or famous Sorcerer. Lastly, the Pythonisse at Philippi, that *had her master much advantage by diuining*, *Act. 16*. 16. And all these vsed the helpe of the deuill, for the working of wonders.

Of Witches there be two sorts: *The bad Witch*, and *the good Witch*: for so they are commonly called.

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The *bad Witch*, is he or she that hath consented in league with the deuill to vse his helpe, for the doing of hurt only, as to strike & annoy the bodies of men, women, children, and cattell with diseases, and with death it selfe: so likewise to raise tempests, by sea and by land, &c. This is commonly called the *binding Witch*.

The *good Witch*, is he or shee that by consent in a league with the deuill, doth vse his help for the doing of good onely. This cannot hurt torment, curse, or kill, but onely heale and cure the hurts inflicted vpon men or cattell, by bad Witches. For as they can doe no good, but onely hurt: so this can doe no hurt, but good onely. And this is that order, which the deuill hath set in his kingdome, appointing to seuerall persons their seuerall offices and charges. And the good Witch is commonly termed the *unbinding Witch*.

Now howsoeuer both these be euill, yet of the two, the more horrible and detestable Monster is the good Witch: for looke in what place soeuer there be bad Witches that hurt onely, there also the deuill hath his good ones, who are better knowne then the bad, beeing commonly called *Wise men, or Wisewomen*. This will appeare by experience in most places in this cuntry. For let a mans child, friend, or cattell be taken with some sore sicknesse, or strangely tormented with some rare and vknowne disease, the first thing he doth, is to be thinke himselfe and inquire after some *Wise man* or *Wisewoman*, and thither he sends and goes for helpe. When he comes, he first tells him the state of the sicke man; the Witch then beeing certified of the disease, prescribeth either Charms of words to be vsed ouer him, or other such counterfeit meanes, wherein there is no vertue; beeing nothing els but the Devils Sacraments, to cause him to doe the cure, if it come by Witchcraft. Well, the meanes are receiued, applyed, and vsed, the sicke partie accordingly recouereth, and the conclusion of all is, the vsual acclamation; Oh happie is the day, that euer I met with such a man or woman to helpe me!

Here obserue, that both haue a stroke in this action: the bad Witch hurt him, the good healed him; but the truth is, the latter hath done him a thousand time more harme then the former. For the one did onely hurt the bodie, but the deuill by meanes of the other, though he haue left the bodie in good plight, yet he hath laid fast holde on the soule, and by curing the bodie, hath killed that. And the partie thus cured, cannot say with David: *The Lord is my helper*; but the deuill is my helper; for by him he is cured. Of both these kindes of Witches the present Law of Moses must be vnderstood.

This point well considered, yeeldeth matter both of instruction and practise.

Of instruction, in that it shewes the cunning and craftie dealing of Satan, who afflicteth and tormenteth the body for the gaine of the soule,

A And for that purpose hath so ordered his instruments, that the bad Witch gives the occasion, by annoying the bodie or goods; and the good immediately accomplisheth his desire, by intangling the soule in the bands of error, ignorance, and false faith. Againe, this sheweth the blindness of naturall corruption, specially in ignorant and superstitious people. It is their nature to abhorre hurtfull persons, such as bad Witches be, and to count them execrable; but those that doe them good, they honour and reuerence as wise men and women, yea seeke and sue vnto them in times of extremitie, though of all persons in the world they be most odious: and Satan in them seemes the greatest friend, when he is most like himselfe; and intendeth greatest mischief. Let al ignorant persons be aduised hereof in time, to take heede, to themselues, and learne to knowe God and his word, that by light from thence they may better discern of the subtile practises of Satan and his instruments.

For matter of practise; Hence we learne our dvetie, to abhorre the wizzard, as the most pernicious enemy of our saluation, the most effectually instrument of destroying our soules, and of building vp the deuills kingdome; yea, as the greatest enemy to Gods name, worship, and glorie, that is in the world, next to Satan himselfe. Of this sort was Simon Magus, who by doing strange cures and workes, made the people of Samaria to take him for some great man, who wrought by the mightie power of God, whereas he did all by the deuill. He therefore beeing a good Witch, did more hurt in seducing the people of God, then Balsam a bad one could with all his curses. And we must remember that the Lord hath set a law vpon the Witches head, *he must not liue*, and if death be due to any; then a thousand deaths of right belong to the good Witch.

But the patrons of Witches indauour to delude the true interpretation of that Law. For by a Witch (say they) we must vnderstand a *poisoner*, and they alledge for that purpose the 70. Interpreters, who translate the originall word [*Mecabephah*] by *poisoner*, which signifieth a poisoner.

I answer: First, the word vsed by the 70. Interpreters signifieth indeede so much, yet not that onely, but also a Witch in generall, as may appeare in sundry places of Scripture. The Apostle, reckoning vp Witchcraft among the workes of the flesh, vseth the Greeke word *pharmakeia*, not for poisoning, but for all Magical arts, as *Harrows* testifieth vpon the place. And that it must necessarily be so translated, it is euident, because in the next verse *murder* is termed another work of the flesh, vnder which, poisoning & all other kinds of killing are comprehended. And the same word is vsed in the like sense, Reu. 21.8. and 22.3.

Againe, the word [*Mecabephah*] which Moses vseth, is ascribed to the Inchanters of E-

gypt,

gypt in the 7. 8. and 9. chapters of Exodus; and to the wisemen of Babel, Dan. 2. who are also called *qayaxais* in the translation of the Seventie: and both sorts of them were Witches and Sorcerers. The kings of Egypt and Babylon vsed these [*Mecastephim*] for iudric purposes, and made them of their counsell; and if they had bin according to this allegation, poisoners; it is not like they would haue so fitted the humors of those two Princes, Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar, much lesse that they would haue so ordinarily required their presence and assistance, in the busines there mentioned.

Thirdly, there is a peremptorie Law against the wilfull murderer, Num. 35. 31. that he should be put to death, and that no recompence should be taken for his life. In which place all poisoners are condemned, because they are wilfull murderers. Now if here in Exodus, by [*Mecastephim*] we should vnderstand a *poisoner*, then there should be one and the same law twice propounded for the same thing, which is not like: and therefore the word vsed by Moses in this text, signifieth not a *poisoner* properly, but a *Witch*.

CHAP. VI.

Of the punishment
of Witches.

Hitherto I haue treated of the nature of Witchcraft, both in generall, and particular, and haue also shewed what Witches are, both good and badde. And now I proceede to the second point considered in this Text, the Punishment of a Witch, and that is Death.

In the Iudiciall lawes of Moses (whereof this is one) the Lord appointed sundrie penalties, which in qualitie and degree differed one from another, so as according to the nature of the offence, was the proportion and measure of the punishment ordained. And of all sinnes, as those were the most heinous in account, which tended directly to the dishonour of God, so to them was assigned death, the greatest and highest degree of punishment. He that despised the Law of Moses, died without mercie vnder two or three witnesses, Hebr. 10. 28. the punishment of the theefe, was restitution fourefold, Exod. 22. 1. but the murderer must be put to death, Num. 35. 31. the Idolater and Seducer were commanded to be slaine, Exod. 22. 20. Deut. 13. 5. the Blasphemer must be stoned, Levit. 24. 10. And the Witch is numbered amongst these grieuous offenders; therefore his punishment is as great as any other. For the text saith, he might not be suffered to liue, Exod. 22. 18.

But why should the Witch be so sharply censured? And what should moue the Lord to allot so high a degree of punishment to that

A sort of offenders? *Ans.* The cause was not the hurt, which they brought vpon men in bodie, goods, or outward estate. For there be sundrie that neuer did harme, but good onely. We read not of any great hurt that was done by the Inchanters of Egypt, or by the Pythonisse of Endor, or by Simon Magus in Samaria. And those diuining Witches, which haue taken vpon them to foretell things to come, hurt not any, but themselves, yet they must die the death. This therefore is not the cause. But what if these doe hurt, or kill, must they not then die? yes verily, but by another law, the lawe of murder, and not by the law of Witchcraft: For in this case, he dieth as a murderere, and not as a Witch, and so he should die, though he were no Witch.

B The cause then of this sharpe punishment, is the very making of a league with the Deuill, either secret, or open, whereby they couenant to vse his helpe for the working of wonders. For by vertue of this alone it commeth to passe, that Witches can doe strange things, in Diuining, Inchanting, and Iugling. Now let it be obserued, of what horrible impietie they stand guiltie before God, who ioyne in confederacie with Satan. Hereby they renounce the Lord that made them, they make no more account of his fauour and protection, they doe quite cut themselves off from the couenant made with him in Baptisme, from the communion of the Saints, from the true worship and service of God. And on the contrarie they giue themselves vnto Satan, as their god, whome they continually feare and serue. Thus are they become the most detestable enemies to God, and his people, that can be. For this cause Samuel told Saul, that rebellion was as the sin of Witchcraft: that is, a most heinous and detestable sinne in the sight of God. The traytour, that doth no hurt to his neighbour, but is willing and readie to doe him the best seruices that can be desired, is notwithstanding by the law of Nations, no better then a dead man, because he betraies his Soueraigne, and consequently can not be a friend vnto the Common-wealth. In like manner, though the Witch were in many respects profitable, and did no hurt, but procured much good; yet because he hath renounced God his king and gouernour, and hath bound himselfe by other lawes to the seruice of the gennie of God, and his Church, death is his portion iustly assigned him by God; he may not liue.

CHAP. VII.

The application of the do-

ctrine of Witchcraft to

our times.

Thus hauing deliuered the true sense and interpretation of this Iudiciall Law, both concerning the sinne of Witchcraft, and the persons, by whome this sinne is practised; it re-

maineth now that I should make some vse thereof, by way of application to the Witches of our times.

In doing whereof, foure particular Questions of moment, are to be handed.

I. *Whether the Witches of our times, be the same with those, that are here condemned by the lawe of Moses? for some there be, and those men of learning, and members of Gods Church, that holde they are not.*

II. *If they be the same (as it shall appeare they are) then howe we may in these daies be able to discerne, and discover a Witch?*

III. *What remedie may be vsed against the hurt of Witchcraft?*

IV. *Whether our Witches are to be punished with death, and that by vertue of this law of Moses?*

Seet. I.

I. Question. *Whether the Witches of our times, be the same with those that are here condemned by Moses Lawe.*

Ans. If we doe well consider the qualitie, and condition of the Witches of our daies, we shall easily see, that they be the same. For experience sheweth, that whether they be men or women, but especially aged women, they be such persons, as doe renounce God, and their Baptisme, and make a league with the deuill, either secretly or openly; in which the deuill bindeth himselfe to teach them certaine rites and ceremonies, whereby they may be able to worke wonders, as to stirre vp tempests, to reueale secrets, to kill or hurt men, and cattell, or to cure and doe good, according to the tenour of their covenant.

The confessions of Witches recorded in the Chronicles of countries through all Europe, doe with common consent declare and manifest this point. So that howsoever our Witches may differ in some circumstances from those in the time of Moses, as either in the instruments, and means vsed, or in the manner and forme, or in some particular ends of their practises; yet in the substance and foundation of Witchcraft, they agree with them. For both of them haue made a covenant with the Deuill one way or other, and by vertue thereof haue wrought wonders about the order of nature. Agreeing therefore in the very foundation, and forme of Witchcraft, which is the league, and in the proper ende, the working of wonders: they must needs be in substance and effect the same with the Witches mentioned by Moses. And yet this point is denied by some, and the Witches of these dayes haue their patrons, who vse reasons to prooue that now we haue none such as we speak of. Their reasons are specially three.

First, they labour to take away the forme of Witchcraft, affirming that there can be no confederacie made betweene the Witch and the Deuill, and that for foure causes.

I. In euery league and contract the parties must be mutually bound each to other: now betweene man or woman and the Deuill, there can be no bond made, and though there could, yet man is bound in conscience to God, to renounce the bond of obedience to Satan, and to breake the covenant. *Ans.* There be two sorts of leagues; lawfull, and vnlawfull: in all lawfull leagues it is true, that there must be a mutuall bond of both parties each to other, which may not be dissolued; but in vnlawfull compacts it is otherwise. And no man can say that this league betweene a Witch and the Deuill is lawfull, but wicked and damnable, yet beeing once made, howsoever vnlawfully; it is a league and compact. This therefore proueth not, that there can be no covenant at all, but that there can be no lawfull covenant betwixt them, which no man will denie.

II. Satan and the Witch are of diuers natures: he is spirituall, they are corporall substances: therefore there can be no league made betweene them. *Ans.* The reason is not good. For euen God himselfe, who is of nature most simple and spirituall, made a covenant with Adam, renewed the same vnto Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob: and continued it with his Church on earth, from age to age. Hence it appeareth, that diuersitie of nature in the parties, cannot hinder the making of a covenant. And therefore if man may make covenant with God himselfe, who is most spirituall; then may he likewise come in league with the Deuill, whose substance is not so pure and spirituall. Again, we must remember, that in making of a covenant, it is sufficient, that the parties consent and agree in will and vnderstanding, though other circumstances and rites, which are but signes of confirmation, be wanting. Be it then, that Satan hath not a bodily substance, as man hath, yet considering that man is indued with vnderstanding, to conceiue of things, as the deuill doth, and hath also will to yeeld consent, and approbation thereunto, though in a corrupt and wicked manner, there may passe a confederacie, and a covenant may be made, and stand in force betweene them.

III. Whatsoever the deuill doth in this compact, he doth it in fraud and deceit, neuer meaning in his promises, as man doth, & when both parties meane not one and the same thing, how can they grow to agreement in any kind? *Ans.* Suppose this be true, yet it onely proueth, that the covenant made betweene them, was deceitfull, and vnlawfull. But what of that? still it remaineth a bargain howsoever: for it faileth onely in the circumstance, the substance, which is the consent of the parties, was not wanting.

IV. Witches of our times (say they) are aged persons, of weake braines, and troubled with abundance of melancholie, and the deuill taketh aduantage of the humor, and so deludes them, perswading that they haue made a league with him, when they haue not, & consequently

* Ioan. Fr.
Pic Mirand.
de pranot.
l. 1. c. 2.
Nicol. Remi-
gius, Domo-
nolatr. c. 1.
c. 5.

moouing them to imagine that they doe, and may doe strange things, which indeed are done by himselfe, and not by them.

Ans. This reason is a meere melancholike conceit, without ground. And the contrary is a manifest truth, that they are not so, as is affirmed, parties decciued by reason of their humors. For first, our Witches are as wise and politike, yea as crafty and cunning in all other matters, as other men be; whereas brainicke persons troubled with melancholy, if their vnderstanding be dis tempered in one action, it will be faultie likewise in others more or lesse. Againe, our Witches know that they sinne in the practises of Witchcraft, and therefore they vse subtile meanes to cover them, and he that would conuict them, must haue great dexteritie to goe beyond them. Now if they were persons deluded, through corruption of any humors; looke what humor caused them to doe a thing, the same would vrge them to disclose it. Thirdly, they are also of the same stamp; they take the same courses in all their practises; their consent in word and action is vniuersall. Men of learning haue obserued, that all Witches through Europe, are of like carriage and behauiour in their examinations and conuictions: they vse the same answers, refuges, defenses, protestations. In a word, looke what be the practises and courses of the Witches in England, in any of these particulars, the same be the practises of the Witches in Spaine, France, Italy, Germany, &c. Wherefore the case is cleare, they are not deluded by Sathan, through the force of humor, as is auouched; for such persons, according as they are diuersely taken, would shewe themselves diuersly affected, and varie in their speeches, actions, and conceits, both publike and priuate. Fourthly, our Witches are wont to communicate their skill to others by tradition, to teach and instruct their children and posteritie, and to initiate them in the grounds, and practises of their owne trade, while they liue, as may appeare by the confessions, recorded in the Courts of all countries. But if they were persons troubled with melancholie, their conceits would die with them. For conceits, and imaginarie fancies, which rise of any humor, cannot be conuicted from partie to partie, no more then the humor it selfe. Lastly, if this sleight might serue to defend Witches vnder pretence of delusion thorough corrupted humors, then here were a couer for all manner of sinnes. For example: a fellow is apprehended for robbetrie or murder, and is brought before the Iudge. Vpon examination he confesseth the fact, being conuicted the law proceedes to condemnation. The same mans friends come in and alleadge before the Iudge in this manner; This man hath a crazie braine, and is troubled with melancholy, and though he hath confessed the fact, yet the truth is, it was not he, but the deuill who himselfe committed the murder, and made

A him thinke he did it, when he did it not, and hereupon he hath confessed. Would any man thinke, that this were a reasonable allegation, and a sufficient meane to mooue the Iudge to acquit him? Assuredly if it were, vpon the same ground might any sinne be laid vpon the deuills backe, and all good lawes and iudiciall proceedings be made voide.

Therefore howsoeuer the patrons of Witches be learned men, yet they are greatly decciued in fathering the practises of Sorcerie vpon a melancholike humor.

B But for the further satisfying of their assertion, they proceede, and vse this argument: They which confesse of themselves things false and impossible, must needs be parties deluded; but our Witches doe this, when they be examined or consulted with, as that they can raise tempests, that they are carried through the aire in a moment, from place to place, that they passe through key-holes, and chifts of doores, that they be sometimes turned into cats, hares, and other creatures; lastly, that they are brought into farre countries, to meete with Herodias, Diana, and the Deuill, and such like: all which are meere fables, and things impossible.

Ans. We must make a difference of Witches in regard of time. There is a time, when they first beginne to make a league with Satan, and a time also after the league is made and confirmed.

C When they first beginne to grow in consuetudine with the deuill, they are sober, and their vnderstanding sound, they make their march waking, and as they thinke wisely enough, knowing both what they promise the deuill, and vpon what conditions, and therefore all this while it is no delusion. But after they be once in the league, and haue beene intangled in compact with the deuill (considerately as they thinke, for their owne good and aduantage) the case may be otherwise. For then reason and vnderstanding may be depraued, memorie weakened, and all the powers of their soule blemished. Thus becomming his vassals, they are deluded, and so intoxicated by him, that they will run into thousands of fantasticall imaginations, holding themselves to be transformed into the shapes of other creatures, to be transported in the ayre into other countries, yea to doe many strange things, which in truth they doe not.

D I come now to their second reason. The Witches of our age (say they) were not knowne in the daies of Moses, nor of Christ, therefore that law concerneth them not.

To this I answer two waies:

First, that their argument is naught: for by the same reason the Papists might auouch the lawfulness of the images of Saints, as of Peter, Paul, and others, yea of Christ himselfe, because they were not knowne in the daies of Moses, & therefore could not be condemned in the second Commandement. Whereas contrarily, the spirit of God, hath so framed and penned the

lawes Morall, and Iudiciall, which concerne man, as that they fetch within their compasse all finnes of all ages, and condemne them. And therefore whatsoever is against the Lawe of God written by Moses, though it were not knowne, nor heard of, either when the Law was made, or afterward, is yet condemned by the same Law.

Againe, I answer, that our Witches are the same that were in Moses time: and therefore by their owne reason must needs be condemned by this Iudiciall law. For by the records of ancient writers it is proved, that about a 1200. yeares before Christs birth, shortly after the Trojan warre, which was 100. yeare and upward before the building of the Temple by Salomon, there were the same Witches that are now, as the *Circes* and *Syraxes*, and such like, mentioned in the narration of that warre, as is manifest to them that knowe the storie.

Againe, 500. yeares before Christ, when the Romans made their twelve Tables, which comprised all the lawes whereby that famous Commonwealth was governed, they made one expressly against Witches, even the same with these of our time, for practising the same things, as blasting of corne, hurting of cattell, men, women, and children, &c. And for the time of Christ, though there be no particular mention made of any such Witches; yet thence it followeth not, that there were none: for all things that then happened, were not recorded: and I would faine know of the chiefe patrons of the, whether those parties possessed with the deuill and troubled with strange diseases, whome Christ healed, and out of whom he cast deuills, were not bewitched with some such people, as our Witches are? if they say no, let them if they can proue the contrarie.

The third and last reason is this: Christ at his coming abolished all sinne, and therefore miracles and Witchcraft then ceased also. The Apostle saith, *that hee spoiled principalities and powers, and triumphed over them upon the crosse*, Colos. 2. 15.

Ans. This argument is frivolous, serving as well to iustifie the traitor, the theefe, and the murderer, as the witch. For whereas it is alledged, that Christ abolished all sinne: we must vnderstand how? not simply, so as sinne should be no more, but onely in part, in this life, reseruing the finall destruction thereof to the last iudgement. Againe, sinne is not abolished, no not in part vnto all, but onely to the members of Christ. Whereupon the Apostle saith, *There is no condemnation to them, that are in Christ*, Rom. 8. 1. because no sinne is imputed vnto them. But vnto Witches, and all the enemies of Christ, sinne is imputed, and not abolished.

To conclude, howsoever much is said in their defence, yet the first part is cleare affirmatiuely, that the Witches of our time, are the same with the witches that were in Moses time, in truth & substance. And so much for the first Question.

Sec. II.

II. Quest. *How we may be able in these our daies to discerne, and discouer a Witch.*

Ans. The discouerie of a Witch is a matter Iudiciall, as is also the discouerie of a theefe and a murderer, and belongeth not to euery man, but is to be done Iudicially by the Magistrate, according to the forme and order of Law; who therefore is set a part for such ends, and hath authoritie both to discouer, and punish the enemies of God and his Church. Now for the Magistrates direction in this busines, we are to knowe, that in the discouerie of a Witch, two things are required, Examination, and Conuiction.

§. 1. Examination is an action of the Magistrate, making speciall enquire of the crime of Witchcraft. This action must haue the beginning from occasions, and presumptions. For the Magistrate though he be a publike person, and stand in the roome of God, for the execution of iustice, yet he may not take vpon him to examine whome and how himselfe willeth, of any crime; neither ought he to proceede vpon sleight causes, as to shew his authoritie ouer others, or vpon sinister respects, as to reuenge his malice, or to bring parties into danger or suspicion; but he must proceed vpon special presumptions.

Those I call presumptions, which doe at least probably, and coniecturally note one to be a Witch; and these are certaine signes, whereby the partie may be discouered: I will touch some few of them.

The first in order is this: If any person, man, or woman, be notoriously defamed for such a partie. Notorious defamation, is a common report of the greater sort of people, with whome the partie suspected dwelleth, that he or shee is a Witch. This yeeldeth a strong suspicion. Yet the Magistrate must be warie in receiuing such a report. For it falls out oftentimes, that the innocent may be suspected; and some of the better sort notoriously defamed. Therefore the wise & prudent Iudge ought carefully to look, that the report be made by men of honestie and credit: which if it be, he may then proceede to make further inquirie of the fact.

The second is, if a fellow-witch or Magician giue testimonie of any person to be a Witch, either voluntarily, or at his or her examination, or at his or her death. This is not sufficient for conuiction, or condemnation, but onely a fit presumption to cause strait examination of the partie to be made.

Thirdly, if after cursing there followeth death, or at least some mischiefe. For Witches are wont to practise their mischieuous facts by cursing and banning. This also is a sufficient matter of Examination, not of Conuiction.

Fourthly, if after enmitie, quarrelling, or threatening, a present mischiefe doth follow. For parties deuillishly disposed, after cursings doe vse threat-

* Homer. Odyss. lib. 10. & 11.

* Sub tit. 2e in iur. aliusq; delict. c. 9. Senec. lib. Nat. Quast. 4 Qui fruges excantant, &c.

threatnings; & that also is a great presumption.

Fifely, if the partie suspected be the sonne or daughter, the manservant or maidservant, the familiar friend, neere neighbour, or old companion of a knowne and convicted Witch. This may be likewise a presumption. For Witchcraft is an art that may be learned, and conveyed from man to man, and often it falleth out, that a Witch dying leaveth some of the forenamed, heires of her Witchcraft.

Sixtly, some do adde this for a presumption; If the partie suspected be found to have the devills markes: for it is commonly thought, when the devill maketh his covenant with them, he always leaveth his markes behind him, whereby he knowes them for his owne. Now if by some casual meanes, such a mark be descried on the bodie of the partie suspected, whereof no evidencereason in nature can be given, the Magistrate in this case may cause such to be examined, or take the matter into his owne hand, that the truth may appeare.

Lastly, if the partie examined be vnconflant, or contrarie to himselfe in his deliberate answers, it argueth a guiltie minde and conscience which stoppeth the freedome of speech and reverence, and may give iust occasion to the Magistrate to make further enquire. I say not if he or she be timorous and fearefull: for a good man may be fearefull in a good cause, sometimes by nature, sometimes in regard of the presence of the Iudge, and the greatnes of the audience. Againe some may be suddenly taken, & others naturally want the libertie of speech, which other men have. And these are the causes of feare and astonishment, which may befall the good; as well as the bad.

Touching the manner of Examination, there be two kinds of proceeding; either by a single Question, or by some Torture. A single question is, when the magistrate himselfe only maketh enquire, what was done, or not done, by bare and naked interrogations. A torture is, when besides the enquire in words, he useth also the racke, or some other violent meanes to vnge confession. This course hath been taken in some countries, and may no doubt lawfully and with good conscience be vsed, howbeit not in euery case, but onely vpon strong and great presumptions going before, and when the partie is obstinate. And thus much for Examination: now followeth Conuiction.

§ 2. Conuiction, is an action of the Magistrate, after iust examination, discovering the Witch. This action must proceede from iust & sufficient proofes, and not from bare presumptions. For though presumptions give occasion to examine, yet they are no sufficient causes of conuiction. Now in generall the proofes vsed for conuiction are of two sorts, some be lesse sufficient, some be more sufficient.

The lesse sufficient proofes are these. First, in former ages, the partie suspected of Witchcraft, was brought before the Magistrate, who cau-

sed red hoar iron, and scalding water to bee brought, and commanded the partie to put his hand in the one, or to take vp the other, or both, and if he took vp the iron in his bare hand without burning, or endured the water without scalding, hereby he was cleared, & iudged free: but if he did burne or scalde, he was then convicted, and condemned for a Witch. But this manner of conuiction, hath long agoe bene condemned for wicked and diabolikall, as in truth it is, considering that thereby many times, an innocent man may bee condemned, and a raneke Witch scape unpunished.

Againe, our owne times haue afforded instances of such weake and insufficient proofes. As first, Scratching of the suspected partie, and present recouerie thereupon. Secondly, burning of the thing bewitched, if it be not a man, as a hogge, or ox, or such like creature, is imagined to be a forcible meanes to cause the Witch to discover her selfe. Thirdly, the burning of the thatch of the suspected parties house, which is thought to bee able to cure the partie bewitched, and to make the Witch to bewray her selfe.

Besides these, in other countries they haue a further prooffe iustified by some that be learned. The partie is taken, and bound hand and foote, and cast crosse waies into the water, if she sinke, shee is counted innocent, and escapeth, if shee flicke on the water, and sincke not, shee is taken for a Witch, convicted, & accordingly punished.

All these proofes are so farre from being sufficient, that some of them, if not all, are after a sort practises of Witchcraft, hauing in them no power or vertue to detect a Sorcerer, either by Gods ordinance in the creation, or by any speciall appointment since. For what vertue can the Scratching of a Witch haue to cure a hurt? where doe we finde it in any part of the word of God, that scratching should be vsed? or what promise of recouerie vpon the vse thereof.

But how then comes it to passe, that helpe is often procured by these and such like means? *Ans.* It is the sleight and subtiltie of the deuill vpon scratching the Witch, to remooue such hurts, as himselfe hath inflicted, that thereby he may inuere men to the practise of wicked and superstitious meanes. And what I say of scratching, the same may be enlarged to all other proofes of this kinde before named, God hath imprinted no such vertue in their natures to these purposes, or added the same vnto them by speciall and extraordinarie assignment. That therefore which is brought to passe by them when they are vsed, commeth from the deuill.

And yet to iustifie the casting of a Witch into the water, it is alleadged, that hauing made a covenant with the deuill, she hath renounced her Baptisme, and hereupon there growes an Antipathie, betweene her and water. *Ans.* This allegation serues to no purpose: for

all water is not the water of Baptisme, but that onely which is vsed in the very act of baptisme, and not before nor after. The element out of the vse of the Sacrament, is no Sacrament, but returnes againe to his common vse.

To goe yet further, an other insufficient prooffe, is the testimonie of some wizzard. It hath beene the ordinarie custome of some men, when they haue had any thing ill at ease, presently to goe or send to some wise man, or wise woman, by whome they haue beene informed, that the thing is bewitched; and to winne credit to their answer, some of them haue offered to shewe the Witches face in a glasse: whereof the partie hauing taken notice, returnes home, and detecteth the man, or woman of Witchcraft. This I grant may be a good presumption to cause strait examination: but a sufficient prooffe of conuiction it cannot be. For put the case the grand Iurie at the Assises goeth on a partie suspected, and in their consultation the Deuill comes in the likenesse of some knowne man, and tells them the person in question is indeede a Witch, and offers withall to confirme the same by othe: should the Inquest receiue his othe or accusation to condemne the man? Assuredly no; and yet that is as much as the testimonie of another wizzard, who onely by the deuills helpe revealeth the Witch. If this should be taken for a sufficient prooffe; the deuill would not leaue one good man aliue in the world.

Againe, all other presumptions commonly vsed, are insufficient, though they may minister occasion of triall: for example; If a man in open court should affirme before the Iudge, Such a one fell out with me, and cursed me, giuing me threatening words, that I should smart for it, and some mischiefe should light vpon my person or goods, ere it were long. Vpon these curses and threats presently such and such euils befell me, and I suffered these and these losses. The magistrate thus informed may safely proceede to inquire into the matter, but he hath not from hence any sure ground of conuiction. For it pleaseth God many times to lay his hand vpon mens persons and goods without the procurement of Witches. And yet experience shewes, that ignorant people who carrie a rage against them, will make strong proofes of such presumptions, whereupon sometimes Iurers doe giue their Verdict against parties innocent.

Lastly, if a man being dangerously sicke, and like to die, vpon suspicion will take it on his death, that such a one hath bewitched him, it is an allegatiō of the same nature, which may moue the Iudge to examine the party, but it is of no moment for conuiction. The reason is, because it was but the suspicion of one man, and a mans owne word for himselfe, though in time of extremitie, when it is likely he will speake nothing but the truth, is of no more force then another mans word against him.

And these are the proofes, which men in

A place and time haue ordinarily vsed, for the detecting of such vngodly persons: but the best that may be said of them, is that they be all either false or vncertaine signes, or vnauailable for the condemnation of any man whatsoever.

Now followe the true proofes, and sufficient meanes of conuiction, all which may be reduced to two heads.

The first, is the free and voluntarie confession of the crime, made by the partie suspected and accused after examination. This hath been thought generally of all men both Diuines, and Lawyers a prooffe sufficient. For what needes more witness or further inquirie, when a man from the touch of his owne conscience acknowledgeth the fault.

B And yet the patrons and advocates of Witches except against it, and object in this manner; that a man or woman may confesse against themselves an vntruth, being vrged thereto either by feare or threatening, or by a desire vpon some griefe to be out of the world; or at least, being in trouble, and perswaded it is the best course to saue their liues, and obtaine libertie, they may vpon simplicitie be induced to confesse that which they neuer did, euen against themselves. Ans. I say not that a bare confession is sufficient, but a confession after due examination taken vpon pregnant presumptions. For if a man examined, without any ground or presumptions, should openly acknowledge the crime, his act may be iustly suspected, as grounded vpon by-respects; but when proceeding is made against him at the first, vpon good probabilities, and hereupon he be drawne to a free confession, that which he hath manifested thereby, cannot but be a truth. Other points of exception vrged by them, are of small moment, and may easily be answered out of the grounds before deliuered, and therefore I omit them.

C Now if the partie helde in suspicion, be examined, and will not confesse, but obstinately persist in deniall, as commonly it falleth out; then there is another course to be taken by a second sufficient meanes of conuiction: which is, the testimonie of two witnesses, of good and honest report, auouching before the Magistrate vpon their owne knowledge, these two things: Either that the partie accused, hath made a league with the deuill; or hath done some knowne practises of Witchcraft. And all arguments that doe necessarily prooue either of these, being brought by two sufficient witnesses, are of force fully to conuince the partie suspected. For example.

D First, if they can prooue that the partie suspected, hath inuocated and called vpon the deuill, or desired his helpe. For this is a brāch of that worship, which Satan bindeth his instruments to giue vnto him. And it is a pregnant prooffe of a league formerly made between the.

Secondly, if they can giue euidence, that the partie hath intertained a familiar spirit, and

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had conference with it, in forme or likenesse of a mouse, catte, or some other visible creature.

Thirdly, if they affirme vpon oath, that the suspected person hath done any action or work, which necessarily inferreth a couenant made; as that he hath shewed the face of a man suspected being absent, in a glasse; or vied Inchantment, or such like feats. In a word, if they both can stouche vpon their owne proper knowledge, that such a man or woman suspected, haue put in practise any other actions of Witchcraft, as to haue diuined of things afore they came to passe, and that peremptorily; to haue raised tempests, to haue caused the form of a dead man to appeare, or the like, standing either in diuination or operation; it prooueth sufficiently that he or she is a Witch.

But some may say, if these be the onely strong proofes for the conuiction of a Sorcerer, it will be then impossible to put any one to death, because the league with Satan is closely made; and the practises of Sorcerie are also very secret; and hardly can a man be brought, which vpon his owne knowledge, can auerte such things.

I answer howsoever both the ground and practise be secret, and to many vnkowne; yet there is a way to come to the knowledge thereof. For it is vsuall with Satan to promise any thing, till the league be ratified; but when it is once made, and the partie intangled in societie with him, then he endeauoureth nothing more; then his or her discoverie, and vseth all meanes possible to disclose them. So that what ende soeuer the Witch propoundeth to her selfe in the league; he intendeth nothing elsie, but her vtter confusion. Therefore in the iust judgement of God, it often falleth out, that these which are true Witches indeede, shall either by confession discover themselves, or by true testimonie be conuincid. The causes which moue the Deuill not onely to effect, but to hasten this discoverie, are two principally.

The first is, his malice towards all men, in so high a degree, that he cannot indure they should enioy the world, or the benefits of this life (if it were possible) so much as one houre. Though therefore by vertue of the precontract, he be cock-sure of his instrument, yet his malice is not herewith satisfied, till the partie be brought to light, and condemned to death. Which may be a caueat to all ill disposed persons, that they beware of yeelding themselves vnto him.

The second, is his insatiable desire of the present and full possession of them, whome he hath got within the bonds of the couenant. For though he haue good hope of them, yet is he not certain of their continuance. The reason is, because some vnited with him in confederacie, haue through the great mercie of God, by carefull vsage of holy meanes, and faith in Christ, bene reclaimed and deliuered out of his bondage, and so at length freed from his

A couenant, so as he hath eternally left them. Hence it is, that he labours by might and maine, to keepe them in ignorance, and to preuent the vsage of meanes effectuell to their conuersion, by laying a plot for their discoverie. But how then comes it to passe, that all such persons are not speedily detected, but some liue long; and others die without any mans priuie? *Ans.* The reasons hereof may be diuers.

First, because some one or more of them may belong to Gods election; and therefore albeit for causes best knowne to himselfe, he suffer them for a time to be holden in the snares of Satan, yet at length in mercie he reclaimes them; and in the meane time suffereth not the deuill to exercise the depth of his malice in discovering them to their confusion. Againe, for others, the Lord may in iustice and anger suffer them not to be disclofed; that liuing vnder the meanes, where they might be reclaimed, and wilfully contemning the same; they may liue to fill vp the measure of their iniquities, and thereby be made finally inexcusable, that they may receiue their iust condemnation.

Secondly, the deuill suffereth some to liue long vndisclofed, that they may exercise the greater measure of his malice in the world; specially if they be parties maliciously bent to doe hurt to men, and other creatures.

Thirdly, some Witches do warily agree with the Deuill, for a certaine tearme of yeares, during which time he bindeth himselfe not to hurt them, but to be at their command. And Satan is carefull, specially in case of his owne aduantage, to keepe touch with them, that they may the more strongly cleaue vnto him on their parts. But if the case so stand, that neither the partie suspected confesseth, nor yet sufficient witnesses can be produced, which are able to conuict him or her, either of these two wayes; we haue no warrant out of the word either in generall, or in speciall, to put such a one to death. For though presumption be neuer so strong, yet they are not proofes sufficient for conuiction, but onely for examination.

I would therefore wish and aduise all Iurers, who give their Verdict vpon life and death in courts of Assises, to take good heede, that as they be diligent in zeale of Gods glorie, and the good of his Church, in detecting of Witches, by all sufficient and lawfull means; so likewise they would be carefull what they doe, and not to condemne any partie suspected, vpon bare presumptions, without sound and sufficient proofes; that they be not guiltie through their owne rashnesse of shedding innocent blood.

Sec. III.

Quest. III. Whether a man may preuent the daunger of Witchcraft, and if he may, then what Remedies he may lawfully and effectually vse against it?

To this Question we answer affirmatiuely, that a man may. And for the manifestation of this point, the Remedies of Witchcraft are to be considered. In the handling whereof, I will proceede in this order. First, to set downe the true, lawfull, and effectuall Remedies allowed and prescribed in the word. Secondly, the unlawfull and superstitious meanes prescribed and practised in the Romish Church.

Lawfull Remedies of Witchcraft, be of two sorts; Preseruatue, and Restoratiue. Preseruatue are those, which keepe a man from the hurt of Witchcraft. And these be of two sorts; either such as keepe safe the persons of men, or such as preserve the places of mens aboad.

For the Persons of men, there is one soueraigne preseruatue; And that is, to be within the covenant of grace, made and confirmed in the Gospel by the blood of Christ, and that not outwardly in profession onely, as all those be which are within the compasse of the Church, but truly and indeede as all the Elect are. And a man is then in the covenant, when God of his grace in the vse of the meanes, giues him a true knowledge of the nature of it, and of conditions required in the same on both parts: and withall giues him a true and lively faith, to apprehend and applie to himselfe the promise of God in Christ, touching remission of sinnes, and life everlasting: yea further to shew forth his faith by the fruits of true repentance, and new obedience. When a man in this manner comes to be brought within the covenant, and is in Christ, he then receiues assurance of Gods fauour, and to him belong the promises depending thereupon, to wit, not onely of the comfortable presence of Gods spirit, but of the presence and speciall protection of his holy Angels, to pitch their tents about him, to keepe him safe in soule and bodie, from the power and malicious practises of Satan, and his members. The ground of this assurance is laide downe in the word, Psal. 92. 10. *He shall giue his Angels charge ouer thee, &c.* And the speech of Balaam confirmeth the same, who when he was hired of Balac to curse Gods people, and had often times assayed to doe it, but could not, at last he breakes out into this confession, *There is no Witch-craft against Iacob, nor Sorcerie against Israel:* (for so the words are to be read, according to the true meaning, and circumstances of the text. As if he should haue said, I was of thy opinion (O Balac) that Israel might be cursed, but after triall made, I found by good experience, that I could doe that people of God no hurt by mine Inchantments.

Howbeit we must here remember, that the promise of protection made vnto Gods children, is not absolute, but admitteth exception, as all other promises of temporall blessing doe, and that in this manner: Thou shalt be partaker of this or that blessing, and this or that curse shall be remooued, if it be expedient for thee: but if for speciall causes to trie thy faith, and to

A exercise thy patience, I make deniall, thou must rest thy selfe contented in my good will and pleasure.

By warrant of this doctrine, a question commonly moued, may be resolved: Whether the seruant and childe of God, may be bewitched or not?

Out of that which hath beene said, I answer, he may; and that is plaine by the word. For by Gods permission, the holy bodie of Christ himselfe was by Satan transported from place to place, Matth. 4. Righteous Iob was miserably afflicted in his bodie by the power of the Deuill, and his children, who no doubt were Gods seruants, and brought vp in his feare, as their father was, were slaine by the same power. Yea Christ himselfe testifieth, Luk. 13. 16. *Thou daughter of Abraham, that is, of the faith of Abraham, had beene troubled eightene years with a spirit of infirmities,* which the deuill caused by bowing her bodie together, so as she could not lift her selfe vp, v. 11. And therefore whereas some men are of this minde, that their faith is so strong, that all the Witches in the world, and all the deuils in hell cannot hurt them; they are much deceived. This their faith is but a fond presumption, and no true faith. For no man in the earth can absolutely assure himselfe of safetie and protection from the deuills, and if any could, it were the child of God; but Salomon saith, *that al outward things may come alike both to the good and to the bad,* Eccles. 9. 2.

C Howbeit in this case there is great difference betweene the seruant of God, and an vnrepentant sinner. Though the godly man be not exempted from Witchcraft, yet he is a thousand folde more free from the power thereof, then other men are. For there is onely one case, and no more, wherein the deuill hath any way power to hurt him, and that is, when it pleaseth god by that kind of crosse, to make triall of his faith and patience, and out of this case, he is alwaies free from the annoyance of the vilest Witches in the World.

D If then this be the onely soueraigne preseruatue to keepe a man safe and sure from the power of Witches, and of the Deuill, to haue part in the covenant of grace, to be made partaker of Christ, by a true faith, testified by dying vnto all sinne, and liuing vnto God in newnesse of life: we must not content our selues with a formall profession, as many in the visible Church doe, which wanting the life of faith, doe not liue in Christ; but strue to goe further, and to adorne our profession, by framing our liues according to the word, that we may haue our portion in this excellent priuiledge of preservation, from the power and malice of the enemies of God, and all vngodly persons.

Preseruatues of the second sort, are such as concerne the places of mens aboad. For Sathan contenteth not himselfe to haue manifested his malice in afflicting mens persons, but he also enlargeth the same to the molestation of

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the places where they dwell, by infecting the ayre, and such like. The onely effectuali means to remedie this euill, is the Sanctification of the places of our habitation. Looke as we are wont to sanctifie our meat and drink, by Gods word; and by prayer; and thereby procure his blessing vpon his owne ordinance for our refreshing: so in like manner may we sanctifie the places of our aboad, and thereby both procure the blessing which we want, and also auoide many curses and dangers, which otherwise would fall vpon vs.

If any shall thinke the Consecration of houses and places in this sort, to be a meere deuile of mens braine; let them remember, that in the Olde Testament, besides the dedication of the Temple, allowed by all; there was a Lawe prescribed to the Iews, for the speciall dedication of euery mans house: *If any hath built a new house (saith Moses) and hath not dedicate it, let him returne againe, &c.* Deut. 20. 1. At who should say, he hath omitted a necessarie dutie. Now this dedication was nothing else, but the sanctification of them by word and prayer; wherein they made acknowledgement, that they became theirs by the free gift and blessing of God; and further desired a free and lawfull vse of the same to his glorie, and their mutuall good. A dutie which hath bene performed by the seruants of God in auncient times.

The first thing that *Abraham* did, when he came from *Ur* of the Chaldeans, to the land of Canaan; which God gaue him to possesse, was the building of an Altar for the worship of God; his sacrificing thereon, and calling vpon the name of the Lord. Gen. 12. 8. The same did *Noah* before him at his first coming out of the Arke after the flood; Gen. 8. 20. and *Iacob* after him in Bethel. And they were all mooued hereunto, because they knewe their comfortable aboad in those places, came not by their owne endeavour, but from the blessing of God. When the good king *Hezekiah* kept the Passouer in Ierusalem, his principall care was that the Priests and all the people might first be sanctified, and therefore he praied vnto God to be mercifull to them that were not sanctified, 2. Chron. 30. 18. And as he behaued himselfe in his kingdome, so should euery master of a familie behaue himselfe in his house where he dwelleth; labouring to sanctifie the same: that it may be comfortable to him and his; least for neglect thereof, he pul vpon himselfe, and those that belong vnto him, the heauie hand of God in plagues and punishments.

The second kinde of Remedies are Restorative, which serue to deliuer men from Witchcraft, by curing the hurts of Witches in the bodies of men; or other creatures. In the handling whereof, first, we will consider, how whole countries, and then how euery priuate man may be cured and deliuered. Whole Countries, and Kingdomes are freed and cured specially by one meanes; The publishing and embracing of the

A Gospell. When our Saviour Christ had sent the seauentie Disciples to preach in Iurie, at their returne he gaue this testimonie of the effect of their ministerie, *That he sawe Satan fall downe from heauen like lightning.* Luk. 10. 18. his meaning was this, As lightning is suddenly and violently sent out of the cloud, and (as it were) cast downe to the earth, by the cracke of the thunder: euen so Satan the Prince of the world; that ruleth in the hearts of the disobedient, was cast downe, and his kingdome ruinated by the power of the Gospell preached. In the times of ignorance the deuill triumpheth freely without contolement, but the mist and darkenesse of his delusions cannot possibly abide the bright beames of Gods glorious wil revealed by preaching. The Lord of auncient times commanded his people not to doe according to those nations, among whom they dwelt in Canaan; by practising Witchcraft; or following after Sorcerie, Deut. 18. 9. &c. And that they might be able to obey this commandement, Moses prescribed vnto them this Restorative, *the reuerent and obedient hearing of the Lords Prophets*, v. 18. In this our Church if we would be healed of our wounds, and banish Satan from among vs; who greatly annoieth a great number of our people by his delusions and damnable practises of Sorcerie: the onely way to bring it to passe, is the maintaining of a learned Ministerie, the aduancing of Prophets; by whose labours the Gospell may flourish. For the faithfull dispensation thereof is the Lords owne arme and scepter, whereby he beareth downe the kingdome of darkenesse, and confoundeth the workes and enterprises of the deuill.

The second sort of Restoratives, serue for the cure of particular persons: for howsoeuer the gift and power of casting out deuills and curing witchcraft be ordinarily ceased, since the Apostles times, it beeing a gift peculiar to the Primitiue Church, and giuen to it onely during the infancie of the Gospell; yet there may be meanes vsed, and that effectually, for the easing of any person that is bewitched by Satans instruments. Those therefore that are in these daies tormented in this kinde, must doe three things.

First, they must enter into a serious examination of themselves, and consider the cause for which it pleaseth God to suffer Satan to exercise them with that kind of crosse. And here vpon diligent enquire, they shall finde that their owne finnes are the true and proper causes of these euills. When *Saul* was disobedient to the commandement of God, the Lord sent vpon him an euill spirit to vex him, 1. Sam. 16. Hymeneus and Alexander for their pestilent errors were both cast out of the Church; and giuen vp also to Satan, that they might learne not to blaspheme, 1. Tim. 1. 20. in the same manner was the incestuous person dealt withall, 1. Cor. 5. 5.

Secondly,

Secondly, after this Examination, the same parties must shew forth their faith, whereby they depend on the free favour and mercie of God for their deliuerance. How may this be done? by heartie prayer vnto God, ioyned with fasting, that the same may be more earnest. In which prayer the maine desire of the heart must be absolutely for the pardon of their sinnes, and then for deliuerance from the hurts and torments of diabolicall persons: yet not absolutely, as for the other, but with this condition, so far forth as it stands with Gods glorie, and their owne good. For these are the bounds and limits of all temporall good things; of them the Lord makes no absolute promise, but with these conditions and qualifications.

Thirdly, the parties bewitched must patiently beare the present annoyance, comforting themselves with this, that it is the Lords owne hand, by whose speciall prouidence it comes to passe, and who turneth all things to the good of his chosen. Again, they are to remember, that he being a most wise God, and louing father in Christ, will not suffer them to be tried above that they be able to beare; but in his good time will grant a ioyfull issue. Now when the bewitched shall thus submit themselves vnto God, in the crosse, &c. it that he (vpon some causes) deferre their deliuerance, yet they shall not finally be deceived of their hope. For either in this life, at the appointed time, or in the end of this life, by death they shall be eternally deliuered, and put in present possession of euermlasting ease and happines. Thus much of the true remedies against Witchcraft.

In the next place we are a little to examine the false and superstitious Remedies, prescribed and vsed by them of the popish Church.

The most learned Papists of this age doe teach and auouch, that there is in Gods Church an ordinarie gift and power, whereby some men may cast out deuills, and helpe annoyances that come by Witches. The Protestant is of a contrarie iudgement, and holdeth according to truth, that there is now no such ordinarie gift left to the Church of God, since the daies of the Apostles.

Reasons of this opinion may be these.

First, casting out of deuills, and curing such annoyances, are extraordinary and miraculous workes. For Christ accounteth handling of serpents without hurt, speaking with new tongues, curing of diseases by imposition of hands, (all which are things of lesse moment) to be miracles, Mark. 16. 17, 18, 19. but all these lesser workes, yes the ordinarie power of working them, is ceased: for it was onely giuen to the Apostles in the Primitiue Church, as a meates to confirme the doctrine of the Gospel to vnbelieuers, that neuer heard of Christ before. So Paul saith, *Strange tongues* (that is, the gift of speaking strange languages, without ordinarie teaching) are for a signe, not to them that beleue, but to them that beleue not, 1. Cor. 14. 22.

A And for the same ende were all extraordinarie gifts then giuen. Seeing therefore the doctrine of the Gospel hath bene already established, and the truth thereof sufficiently confirmed by miracles in the Primitiue Church, the same gift must needs cease vnto vs. For if it should still continue, it would call into question the effect of the Apostolical preaching, and imple thus much, that the Gospel was not well established, nor sufficiently confirmed by their extraordinary Ministerie, and miracles accompanying the same. Again, if the gift of working miracles should remaine, then the promise of God for his speciall & extraordinary assistance therein, should yet continue: for the gift and promise goe together, so long as the promise is in force, so long is the gift also, but the promise made by Christ, *In my name shall they cast out deuills, and speake with new tongues*, Mark. 16. was in force onely in the persons and Ministerie of the Apostles, and those that had extraordinary and immediate calling from God; and it ceased when they and their calling ceased. Therefore if Ministers now should lay their hands on the sicke, they should not recover them: if they should anoint them with Oyle, it should do them no good, because they haue no promise.

Howbeit the Papists stand stiffely in defending the continuance of these gifts.

C First, they say, the Church of the New Testament is nothing inferiour to that of the Old. The Iewish Church before the coming of Christ, was the Church of the Old Testament, and had the power and gift of casting out deuills. So saith our Saviour himselfe, Math. 12. 29. *If I through Beelzebub cast out Deuills, then by whom doe your children cast them out?* In which words he ascribeth this gift vnto the Iewes, therefore it should seeme, the same remaineth still in the Church.

D Ans. That place of Scripture is diuersly expounded. Some by children there mentioned, vnderstand the Apostles, who were Iewes borne, and had receiued from Christ this gift and power to cast out deuills. Which if it be so, it maketh not for them, because they had it extraordinarily. But I rather thinke, that by children, are meant the Exorcising Iewes, before Christs time, who did cast out deuills among the, pretending an abilitie to doe this worke in the name of God; whereas in truth, they were all flat Sorcerers, and did it by vertue of a league & compact made with the deuill. Which practise hath bene of long continuance, and is at this day common and vsual among the Popish sort. And that there were such Exorcists among the Iewes, it is euident. For such were those Vagabonds which came to Ephesus, and tooke vpon them to cast out deuills by the name of *Iesus*, and *Paul*, Act. 19. 13. but the man in whom the euill spirit was, (so soone as he had adured the spirit) ranne vpon them, and mightily preuailed against them, v. 16. Now if they had

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done this great worke by the power of God (as they pretended) the holy Ghost would not haue called them Exorcists and Vagabonds, neither could the euill spirit possibly haue overcome them as he did. Again, in the Histories of the Iewes are recorded many practises of such as exercise this power among them. *Raphael* the Angell telleth *Tobias*, that a perfume made of the heart and liuer of a fish, will helpe a man vexed with an euill spirit, Tob. 6. 7. which countell is flat Magick, for there is no such vertue in the liuer of a fish. And in other histories we reade, that one *Elezar* a Iew, by the smell of a certaine roote put to the nose of a man possessed with a deuill, caused the deuill to come out of his nostrills, and forsake him; which thing was done in publike place before *Kessian* and others. This also was effected by meere coniuration. For what vertue can there be in any roote or hearb in the world, auailable to command and enforce Satan to depart from a man possessed? And yet such feares were plaied by sundrie Magicians among the Iewes. Whereupon I conclude, that the meaning of our Sauour in the place alledged, is in effect thus much; *If I by the power of Beelzebub, &c.* that is, you haue among you sundrie Magicians and Exorcists, who pretend and exercise the gift of casting out deuills; and you thinke they doe it by the power of God, why then do you not carrie the same opinion of me also?

Their second reason is grounded on the promise of Christ, Mark. 16. 17. *These tokens shall follow them that beleene, In my name they shall cast out deuills, &c.* whence they gather; that there shall be alwaies some in the Church, who shall haue power to cast forth deuills, if they beleue.

Ans. That promise was made by Christ vnto his Church, to be fulfilled immediately after his ascension. It did not extend to all times, and persons, so long as the world endureth, but onely to the times of the primitive Church, and to such as then liued. For to the onely the doctrine of the Gospell was to be confirmed by signes and miracles. And this lasted about 200. yeares next after Christ his ascension. During which time, not onely the Apostles and Ministers, but euen priuate men, and souldiers wrought many miracles.

The third reason is taken from experience, which (as they say) in all ages from the Apostles times to this day sheweth, that there haue bin alwaies some in the Church, which haue had this gift of casting out Deuills, and curing the hurts of Witchcraft.

Ans. This gift continued not much aboue the space of 200. yeres after Christ. From which time many heresies beganne to spread themselves; and then shortly after Poperie that myserie of iniquitie beginning to spring vp, and to dilate it selfe in the Churches of Europe, the true gift of working Miracles then ceased, and in stead thereof came in delusions, and lying

wonders, by the effectuall working of Satan, as it was foretold by the Apostle, 2. Thess. 2. 9. Of which sort were and are all those miracles of the Romish Church, whereby simple people haue beene notoriously deluded. These indeed haue there continued fro that time to this day. But this gift of the holy Ghost, whereof the Question is made, ceased long before.

To proceede yet further, we are here to consider the particular Remedies, which they of the Popish Church haue prescribed against the hurts that haue come by Witchcraft. And they are principally five.

I. The name *Iesus*.

II. The vse of the Reliques of Saints.

III. The signe of the Crosse.

IV. Hallowed creatures.

V. Exorcismes.

I. First, for the name *Iesus*: Thus much we grant, that any Christian may lawfully call vpon the name of *Iesus* in prayer; for the helpe and deliuerance of those that are possessed and bewitched; but yet with the caueat and condition before specified, If it be the will of God, and if their recouerie may make for his glory, the benefit of the Church, and the good of the parties diseased.

But the Papist by the vse of this name, intendeth a further matter, to wit, that the very name vttered in so many letters and sillables, is powerfull to cast out Deuills, and to helpe those that are bewitched. For when it is vttered, then (say they) the authoritie of Christ is present, that the worke may be done. A flat vnturth, and a practise full of daunger. For let this be well considered, whatsoeuer any man doth in this case; he must doe it by vertue of his calling, and haue also his warrant for the doing thereof out of the word; which if he want, and yet will vndertake such a worke, he may iustly feare the like euent that befell the vagabond Iewes that were Exorcists, Act. 19. 13. Now the Church of Christ hath no warrant in the word, to vse this name of Christ for any such purpose; neither hath any ordinarie Christian a speciall calling from God so to doe. Therefore he may not doe it.

And whereas they would beare men in hand, that the said name, of all the names of Christ, and aboue all other things, is of most speeciall vertue, though it be vsed euen by a man that wanteth faith, because the Apostle saith, *At the name of Iesus every knee shall bow, both of things in heauen, in earth, and vnder the earth*, Phil. 2. 10. and by things vnder the earth are meant the deuills: we must knowe that their allegation is weake, and that they greatly abuse the place. For there the name *Iesus*, is not onely a title of Christ, but withall signifieth the power, maiestie, and authoritie of Christ, sitting at the right hand of the father, to which all creatures in heauen, earth, & hell are made subiect; and by that power indeed (if they had it at command) they might be able to cure the hurts of Witchcraft.

II. The

II. The second speciall Remedie is the Vse of Saints Reliques; as their bookes, bones, apparell, staues, or such like, which beeing but touched of the parties vexed, are excellent meanes to recover them.

Ans. The vse of these things, to the purposes aforesaid, is a meere superstitious practise. For first, they haue not the true Reliques of the Saints, as would plainly appeare, if a true Inuentorie were taken of all such as they say are to be found in their Monasteries and Churches. Secondly, though they had them, yet haue they no warrant or calling to vse them to this ende: for in all the word of God, there is neither commandement to warrant the vse, nor promise to assure any man of a blessing vpon the vse of them. Albeit they would seeme to haue some warrant, and therefore they alleadge that which is written, 2. King 13. 21. of a dead man, who beeing for haile throwne into the sepulchre of Elisha, so soone as he touched the bones of Elisha, reuiued, and stood vpon his feete. To this also they adde the examples of cures done by *Peters* shadowe, Act. 5. 15. and sundrie diseases healed by *Pauls* handkerchises, Act. 19. 12.

Ans. These things indeede are true, but they serue nothing to their purpose. For first, the quickning of the dead souldier, came not from any vertue in the corps of Elisha; but it was a miracle, which it pleased God then to worke, by meanes of the corps, that the Iewes at that time might be confirmed in the truth of that doctrine, which Elisha had taught them from God, and which before his death they had neglected, as I haue before shewed. And it was a thing onely then done, and neuer since. It cannot therefore be a ground for the ordinarie vse of Reliques. Againe, touching the other examples: I answer, that both Peter and Paul had the gift of working Miracles, and hauing the gift, they might vse such meanes for the present to cure diseases. But the Papists are not able to shewe, that God hath giuen them the like gift, whereby they might be warranted for the vse of the like meanes: neither can they assuredly hope for successe, although they should vnder-take to vse them.

III. The third Remedie, is the signe of the Crosse, made vpon the bodie of the partie tormented. Behold to what a height of impietie they are growne, ascribing that to the creature, which is proper to the Creator. For the power of working miracles, is proper onely to the Godhead. The Prophets and Apostles in their times did not worke them of themselves, but were onely Gods passive instruments, in this manner: When the Lord intended by them to worke any miracle, they received from him at the same time an extraordinarie and speciall instinct, whereby they were mooued to attempt the worke. They therefore yeelded themselves to the present motion of Gods spirit, to be his instruments onely in the dispensation of the worke; but the sole author and producer of the

miracle, was God himselfe. And in this case the very manhood of our Sauour Christ, considered apart from his Godhead, had no power of it selfe, but was onely the instrument of his Godhead, whensoever it pleased him in that kind to manifest the same. Wherefore to ascribe this vertue to the Crosse, being a creature, or the worke of a creature, is to communicate the incommunicable power of the Creator to it, which is plaine blasphemie.

IV. The fourth Remedie, is the vsing of hallowed things; as hallowed graines, salt, water, bread, images; specially the image of *Annus dei*.

Ans. Hallowed creatures are in truth unhallowed superstitions. For every creature is sanctified by the word and prayer, 1. Tim. 4. 4. by the word, when God in his word commands vs to vse it for some ende; and by prayer, when we giue him thanks for giuing the creature, and withall desire his blessing in the vse thereof. Now let any Papist shewe me one letter or syllable in all the Booke of God, commanding the vse of a creature for any such ende.

They affirme indeede, that *Elisha* wrought miracles by hallowed salt, for by it he cured the bitter waters, 2. king. 2. 21. But the Prophet vsed not hallowed, but common salt, & that not ordinarily, but onely then, as a meanes whereby to worke a miracle. It was therefore powerfull in his hands, because for the doing thereof, he had power and warrant from God extraordinarily: and it cannot be so in any other, which haue not the same gift.

V. The fift and last Remedie, is Exorcisme, which is an adiuring and commanding the Deuill in the name of God, to depart fro the partie possessed, and cease to molest him any more. This meanes was vsed by our Sauour Christ himselfe, and after him by his Apostles, and other beleeuers in the time of the Primitiue Church, when the gift of working Miracles was in force: but in these daies (as I said before) that gift is ceased, & also the promise of power annexed to the vse of adiuration; and therefore the meanes thereof must needs cease. And for an ordinarie man now to command the Deuill in such sort, is meere presumption, and a practise of Sorcerie.

Seet. IV.

IV. Quest. Whether the Witches of our age are to be punished with death, and what by vertue of this law of Moses?

I doubt not, but in this last age of the world, among vs also, this sinne of Witchcraft ought as sharply to be punished as in the former times; and all Witches beeing thoroughly convicted by the Magistrate, ought according to the Law of Moses to be put to death. For prooffe hereof, consider these reasons.

First, this Law of Moses flatly enioyneth all men, in all ages, without limitation of circumstances, not to suffer the Witch to liue, and hereupon I gather, that it must stand the same,

both

both now and for ever to the worlds end.

Patrons of Witches except against this, holding that it was a Iudiciall Lawe, which continued but for a time, and concerned onely the Nation of the Iewes, and is now ceased. But I take the contrary to be the truth, and that vpon these grounds.

I. Those Iudiciall Lawes, whose penaltie is death, because they haue in them a perpetuall equitie, and doe serue to maintaine some morall precept, are perpetuall. The Iewes indeede had some Lawes of this kind, whose punishments were temporall, and they lasted onely for a certaine time: but the penaltie of Witchcraft, beeing Death by Gods appointment, and the inflicting of that punishment, seruing to maintaine the equitie of the three first morall precepts of the first Table, which cannot be kept vnlesse this Lawe be put in execution: it must necessarily followe, that it is in that regard morall, and binds vs, and shall in like sort bind all men in all ages, as well as the Iewes themselves, to who it was at that time personally directed.

II. Euery Iudiciall lawe, that hath in it the equitie of the lawe of nature, is perpetuall; but this Lawe of punishing the Witch by death, is such. For it is a principle of the Lawe of nature, holden for a grounded truth in all countries and kingdoms, among all people in euery age; that the traytor who is an enimie to the State, and rebelleth against his lawfull Prince, should be put to death: now the most notorious traytor and rebell that can be, is the Witch. For she renounceth God himselfe, the King of kings, she leaues the societie of his Church and people, she bindeth her selfe in league with the deuill: and therefore if any offender among men, ought to suffer death for his fact, much more ought she, and that of due desert.

The second reason for the prooffe of the point in hand, is this; According to Moses lawe euery Idolater was to be stoned to death: Deuter. 17. v. 3, 4, 5. *If there be found any among you, that hath gone and serued other gods, as the Sunne, the Moone, or any of the host of heauen: if the thing vpon enquire be found to be true and certain; thou shalt bring them forth vnto thy gates, whether it be man or woman, and shalt stone them with stones till they die.* Now this is the very case of a Witch, she renounceth the true God, and maketh choice to serue the deuill, she is therefore a grosse Idolater, and her punishment must be sutable. It is alleadged by the fauourers of the contrary part, that Peter denied Christ, and yet was not put to death: I answer there is great difference between Peters deniall of Christ, and Witches denying of God. Peters denyall was vpon infirmitie and in hast: the Witch denyeth God vpon knowledge and deliberation, wittingly and willingly. Againe, Peter did not vpon the deniall betake himselfe to the deuill, but turned vnto Christ againe, which he testified by his hearty and speedie repentance: but Witches

A deny God, and betake themselves to the deuill, of their owne accord, as is manifest euen by their owne confessions at their arraignment.

The third reason: Euery seducer in the Church, whose practise was to draw men from the true God to the worship of Idols, though it were a mans owne sonne or daughter, wife or friend, by the peremptorie decree and commandement of God, was at no hand to be spared or pitied, but the hand of the witness first, and then the hands of all the people must be vpon him, to kill him, Deut. 13. 6, 9. If this be so, no Witches convicted ought to escape the sword of the Magistrate: for they are the most notorious seducers of all other. When they be once intrangled in the Deuills league, they labour to inure their dearest friends and posteritie, in their cursed and abominable practises; that they may be the more easily drawne into the same confederacie, wherewith they themselves are vntied to Sathan, I might here alleadge that they deserue death, because many of them be murderers, but I stand not vpon that instance, because I hold in the generall that Witches are not to be suffered to liue; though they doe no hurt either to man or other creatures, and that by vertue of Moses lawe, onely for their leagues sake, whereby they become rebels to God, Idolaters and seducers, as now hath beene shewed. Yet notwithstanding all that hath beene said, many things are brought in defence of them, by such as be their friends and wellwillers.

C First, it is saide, that the hurt that is done, comes not from the Witch, but from the deuill: he deserues the blame because it is his worke, and she is not to die for his sinne. *Ans.* Let it be granted, that the Witch is not the author of the euill that is done, yet she is a confederate and partner with the deuill in the fact, and so the lawe takes hold on her. See it in a familiar comparison: A companie of men conspire together in a robbery, by common consent some stand in open place to espie out the bootie, and to giue the watchword, others are set about the passage, priuily to rush vpon the man, and to spoyle him of his goods. In this case what saith the Law? The Parties that gaue the watchword, though they did nothing to the man, yet beeing accessories and abettors to the robbery by consent, they are theeuers, and liable to condemnation and execution, as well as the principalls. Euen so stands the case with the Witch. In the working of wonders, and in all mischieuous practises, he or she is partaker with the deuill by consent of covenant: the Witch onely vseth the watchword, in some charme or otherwise, and doth no more; the deuill vpon notice giuen by the Charme, takes his opportunitie, and works the mischiefe. He is the principall agent, but the other yeeldeth helpe, and is rightly liable to punishment. The reason is, because if the deuill were not stirred vp, and prouoked by the Witch, he would neuer do so much hurt

as he doth. He had neuer appeared in Samuels likenes had he not been solicited by the Witch of Endor. He would not haue caused counterfeit serpents and frogges to appeare in Egypt, but for Iannes and Iambres; and other Inchanters. And in this age there would not in likelihood be so much hurt and hinderance procured vnto men, and other creatures by his meanes, but for the instigation of ill disposed persons, that haue fellowship and societie with him.

Against, they object, that Witches convicted either repent, or repent not: If they repent, then God pardoneth their sinne, and why should not the Magistrate as well saue their bodies and let them liue, as God doth their soules. If they do not repent, then it is a dangerous thing for the Magistrate to put them to death: for by this meanes he kills the bodie and casts the soule to hell.

Ans. All Witches iudicially and lawfully convicted, ought to haue space of repentance granted vnto them, wherein they may be instructed and exhorted, and then afterward executed. For it is possible, for them to be saued by Gods mercie, though they haue denied him. Secondly, the Magistrate must execute iustice vpon malefactors lawfully convicted, whether they repent or not. For God approoueth the iust execution of iudgement vpon men, without respect to their repentance: neither must their impenitencie hinder the execution of iustice. When the people of Israel had committed Idolatrie in worshipping the golden calfe, Moses did not expect their repentance, and in the meane while forbore the punishment, but he and the Levites presently tooke their swords and slue them, and the Lord approoued their course of proceeding, Exod. 32. 28. When Zimri an Israelite had committed fornication with Cozbi a Midianitish woman, Phineas in zeale of Gods glorie executed iudgement vpon them both, without any respect vnto their repentance, Num. 25. 8. and is therefore commended, Psal. 106. 30. Warres are a worthy ordinance of God, and yet no Prince could euer attempt the same lawfully, if euery soldier in the field should stay the killing of his enimie, vpon expectation

of his repentance. And whereas they say, that by executing an impenitent Witch, the Magistrate casteth away the soule; we must knowe, that the ende of execution by the Magistrate is not the damnation of the malefactors soule, but that sinne might be punished that others may beware of the like crimes and offences, and that the wicked might be taken away from among Gods people.

But some Witches there be that cannot be convicted of killing any: what shall become of them? *Ans.* As the killing Witch must die by another lawe, though he were no Witch: so the healing and harmlesse Witch must die by this Lawe, though he kill not, onely for couenant made with Satan. For this must alwaies be remembered as a conclusion, that by Witches we vnderstand not those onely which kill and torment: but all Diuiners, Charmers, Iuglers, all Wizzards, commonly called wise men and wise women; yea, whosoever doe any thing (knowing what they doe) which cannot be effected by nature or art; and in the same number we reckon all good Witches, which doe no hurt but good, which do not spoile and destroy, but saue and deliuer. All these come vnder this sentence of *Moses*, because they denie God and are confederates with Satan. By the lawes of England the thiefe is executed for stealing, and we thinke it iust and profitable; but it were a thousand times better for the land, if all Witches, but specially the blessing Witch might suffer death. For the thief by his stealing, and the hurtfull Ichanter by charming, bring hindrance and hurt to the bodies and goods of men; but these are the right hand of the deuill, by which he taketh and destroyeth the soules of men. Men doe most commonly hate and spit at the damnifying Sorcerer, as unworthie to liue among them; whereas the other is so deare vnto them, that they hold themselves and their countrie blessed that haue him among them, they flie vnto him in necessitie, they depend vpon him as their god, and by this meanes, thousands are caried away to their final confusion. Death therefore is the iust and deserued portion of the good Witch.

FINIS.